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Experts To Inspect Missile Base in FRG

LD2709164488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn, 27 Sep (TASS)—A group of Soviet experts arrived in Frankfurt am Main today. In keeping with the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, they will carry out an inspection of one of the U.S. missile bases on West German territory. According to an FRG Foreign Ministry report, the actual location of the inspection will be indicated by experts in due course.

Galvin Comments on Disarmament Criticized

LD2609200188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 26 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov; commentary by Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Text] General Galvin, commander in chief of the NATO Joint Armed Forces in Europe, has given what I would call a characteristic interview to the West German weekly DIE ZEIT. Its tone may be sensed literally from the opening lines. The NATO alliance, the general asserts, must be strong militarily. It would be a mistake to consider a weakening of our defense capabilty because, he says, Soviet military might and the Soviet military doctrine underline a desire for rapid and offensive action.

Over the past 3 years, General Galvin has been quite unable to discern any positive moves in our country's foreign policy. In his view the Soviets' foreign policy objectives have not changed significantly. I have asked my colleague, commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin, to comment on these pronouncements by the commander in chief of NATO's troops in Europe. Thank you.

[Vedenyapin] Political shortsightedness is a chronic ailment among many Western politicians and military people. This complaint surfaces precisely when these figures come up against issues which are so obvious that it would appear there cannot possibly be two opinions. It is here that the truly helpful talent which some people have for not noticing what they don't wish to notice comes to their aid. Such is the case with General Galvin, who gives the impression that nothing major has changed in the conduct of our country's foreign policy over the past 3 years, as though the concept of new thinking has not become a generally accepted one.

It would, it is true, be difficult to draw any other conclusion. The general did not utter a single word about the Warsaw Pact's proposals to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Yet, as you know, we have been prepared to begin such talks even this year, before a new U.S. president enters the White House. And what's more, in recognizing the existence of imbalances and asymmetries in certain types of armaments, the Warsaw Pact countries actually proposed beginning with their liquidation.

The NATO commander in chief, however, veering away from the question of the talks themselves, merely tries to be convincing about another point. NATO, he claims, is inferior in terms of military might in Europe, so it wouldn't be a bad thing if, for a start, our country curtailed arms production altogether and involved itself exclusively with domestic reforms. While giving us this sort of advice, the general at the same time warns NATO about the dangers of unilateral disarmament which, we observe, no one is imposing on them. One could hardly call that line of reasoning logical—egoistic certainly, in relation to NATO and the destinies of European peace.

For a long time now those in NATO who are champions of a stalemate have been using the pretext of the overwhelming superiority of the Warsaw Pact in conventional armaments to counteract progress at the talks on nuclear and space armaments, and to prevent the creation in Europe of a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

Now, at a time when the countries of the socialist community are proposing the beginning of a considerable reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons with an exchange of information about the military might of the two military alliances, and with a leveling-out of this might on individual indices, the Atlantists make a move in the opposite direction. It is obvious that in certain circles in Washington the prospect of a normalization of the military-political situation in Europe gives greater cause for alarm than an imbalance in the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. It is anxiety over the former that explains the real purpose of Galvin's statement.

By going on with statistical computations about who's got the most armaments—clearly, it must be us—the general tries to camouflage NATO's stubborn reluctance to enter into a constructive dialogue, a dialogue aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation on the European Continent.

Yes, at a time when the realization of the interdependence of our world has never been so obvious, at NATO headquarters they are finding it difficult to do away with the stereotypes of the prenuclear age.

It is these stereotypes that engender political shortsightedness, which is fraught with obscure blind alleys on the path to a world without wars.

Shevardnadze Addresses UN General Assembly

PM2809103788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

["Striving for Comprehensive Security. Speech by E.A. Shevardnadze, Head of the Soviet Delegation, at 43d UN General Assembly Session"]

[Text] New York, 27 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the 43d UN General Assembly session, spoke at the plenary session today. He said:

Distinguished Mr President!

Distinguished delegates,

We are meeting at a remarkable time. Though quite ordinary on the working calendar of our organization, this time is filled with extraordinary events. They can become a norm for mankind's life if we succeed in turning them into a trend.

Such, in our view, should be the main thrust of the current session which in many respects is a watershed for the world community.

We are talking about a new world calendar which is being created through the efforts of states and peoples, through the efforts of the United Nations.

A character in the classical comedy "Wit Works Woe" exclaims, "Calendars are all lying!"

The calendar that has taken shape by today is not deceiving us. It speaks of change underway in the world, and that change is a product of reason.

We have on that calendar:

—The Moscow summit meeting, during which Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan exchanged the instruments marking the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles;

—The conclusion of the Geneva accords on political settlement around Afghanistan;

—The first ever public destruction of nuclear missiles;

—The cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war.

All this is a product of reason, of a new political intellect, which is prevailing over the dark legacy of the past.

It is destroying the mutual "images of the enemy" and is shaping the image of a cooperative partner.

It is making it possible to discuss a world without arms in the emerging context of real disarmament, as happened recently during the third special session of the General Assembly.

It is offering a chance for a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting, which is a major milestone along the road of the all-European process.

All that characterizes the year 1988, which has witnessed many other remarkable events.

This year has witnessed the four-party talks on southern Africa.

—Movement toward political settlement around Cambodia,

—Contacts in order to resolve problems existing on the Korean peninsula,

—Dialogue between the leaders of the two until recently irreconcilable communities of the divided Cyprus,

—And a positive response to the initiative of the United Nations secretary-general concerning a settlement of the problem of Western Sahara.

I will permit myself to include among the year's landmark events the party conference in my country. Its main conclusion is that restructuring is irreversible. It is irreversible in both our domestic and foreign policy.

Radical change in our own house—I am quoting Mikhail Gorbachev—has made us adopt new approaches to international affairs too.

In a way, the calendar that I have brought to your attention is one of the consequences of that process.

Two years ago we were saying here that group, bloc, or ideological considerations were beginning to give way to an understanding of peace as the supreme value. Only peace, translated from the language of declarations into that of practical action, gives humankind a chance to survive.

Having grasped this worldwide trend, the Soviet Union has joined it with its own restructuring.

Today the world is changing along new lines.

Through joint efforts of states and by implementing the principles of new political thinking, it has become possible to ward off the threat of war.

To a large extent this is due to the political will exercised by the leaders of states, and here I can only agree with President Reagan's remarks yesterday about the beneficial impact of Soviet-American dialogue on that process.

We are now moving further ahead—toward comprehensive security. It requires truly international cooperation.

This universal international alliance must rise above differences, which, to quote Albert Einstein, are infinitely small compared to the danger that threatens us all.

The formation of that alliance is being facilitated by the objectively emerging mechanism of interaction among states and peoples, first and foremost through the United Nations and its institutions.

Its main working unit, its engine, its heart is here, in our house of peace, as are the people who have found ways to increase the power of the instruments of peace-making, and we thank them for that.

There is, however, no better way of expressing gratitude than a collective effort to enhance the role of the United Nations, to make it stronger not only as a unique international forum but also as an equally unique global center for ensuring universal and regional security, and the security of each country.

In this capacity the United Nations should, in our view, play a more active and direct role in eliminating the main threat to mankind—the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

We would like to see a greater involvement of the United Nations in the process of nuclear disarmament, in reaching a global agreement on the cessation and prohibition of nuclear weapons testing, and in creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

Space should become an area for the United Nations' priority attention. The international community has a vital interest in preventing it from becoming an arena for military rivalry.

Today this can still be done. Tomorrow it will be too late.

The Soviet Union has made a case for setting up a world space organization. The organization's system could also include a center for international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, to be established on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar, as proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

We would like to call upon the U.S. Government to follow that example, and thus put to rest our concern with respect to U.S. radars in Greenland and Britain. By doing that we would not only lay the material groundwork for international cooperation in space but would also strengthen the ABM Treaty regime.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles should be reinforced by an agreement limiting the proliferation of military missiles technology. A multilateral agreement on that score could be worked out only under the auspices of the United Nations.

The United Nations can become a real participant in resolving the issues of conventional arms limitation. The Soviet Union supports the idea of setting up within the United Nations a register of conventional arms sales and supplies and is ready to take part in developing the parameters of such a register.

The arms race cannot be curbed without putting under control the use of scientific and technological achievements for military purposes. We support the proposal by India and other countries to set up a group under the United Nations secretary-general to provide assessments and forecasts in the area of new technologies.

The United Nations will measure up to all those tasks if we take a fresh look at the practical aspects of our work. First of all, the General Assembly, as a principal body of the United Nations, should substantially step up its contribution toward finding ways and means of solving international problems, inter alia, through renewing and improving its methods and procedures.

There is but one criterion here—that decisions be productive and democratically worked out and adopted. A first step in this direction would be to adopt an increased portion of United Nations decisions by consensus.

It is important that General Assembly resolutions adopted by a vote should not be devalued.

It is also necesary to reinvigorate the work of the Security Council, and to ensure closer interaction among its members.

At consultations among the five permanent members of the council attended by the secretary general it would be useful to hold periodic reviews of situations in areas of conflict and identify priority measures to improve the situation.

A need is being felt to hold periodic meetings of the Security Council at foreign minister level, as envisaged by the charter.

The idea of convening special expanded Security Council meetings in regions of tensions is worthy of consideration. They could also be held in the capitals of the council's permanent members. The Soviet Union confirms its readiness to host such a meeting in Moscow.

We all owe a debt to the United Nations. It is in our common interest to repay our debts. We can repay them in full if, in addition to dollar contributions, we make the

investment of innovative thoughts in the activity of its institutions, if we revive its main function of being a center for the settlement of international conflicts through united efforts.

And let there be no lament then over the sacred national prerogatives.

The Soviet Union is a firm advocate of strengthening national sovereignty, particularly wherever infringements upon it are most painfully felt.

We regard as extremely objectionable the anomaly of military bases and foreign military presence in other states' territories and violations of national sovereignty by an undeclared arrival or transit of nuclear arms through sea ports of other countries. We have stated clearly what we believe—any military presence must be confined to national borders only.

But what we are speaking of now is voluntarily delegating a portion of national rights in the interests of all and, paradoxically enough, in order to strengthen national security while at the same time strengthening universal security.

The interrelationship of events in an interdependent world increasingly compels us to delegate some national prerogatives to an international organization. In fact, this is already happening.

Military activity is ceasing to be a taboo. Having cleared the "verification barrier" and having initiated the process of real nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union and the United States, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands have given up some of their rights when they permitted the inspection of facilities in their territories. This was done in the interests of universal security.

By establishing new, previously inconceivable rules of openness in the military sphere, the world is without doubt moving toward creating a common sovereign right—the right to survive.

When the U.S. secretary of defense sits at the controls of a top secret Soviet bomber, and the chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces tours an equally secret U.S. base, that is more than a mere exchange of protocol courtesies in the spirit of the times.

It means that the elimination of secrecy is becoming a factor of security.

We draw this conclusion from the certainty that today it is no longer possible to achieve political goals by means of war. Simply put, war is ceasing to be, indeed it has ceased to be, an instrument of rational policy.

Let us consider this from the perspective of regional conflicts. While they flare up and develop in different ways, they still have one feature in common—they drag on intolerably long without delivering positive political results.

However, positive political results are not slow in coming when interference in regional conflicts gives way to the world community's efforts to promote their settlement.

No one should hinder this process.

In this context we have to speak of Afghanistan.

The Geneva accords are not just an isolated local instance of a regional conflict settlement.

They are the first step in a chain reaction leading to a healthier world.

They are a new promising beginning in world politics, attesting to a qualitative change in political thinking.

They are a message of good news sent to other regions.

Any violation of the Geneva accords undermines those achievements.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are observing their obligations under those accords faithfully—to the letter.

There is no need to prove that. However, attempts are being made to arbitrarily alter the formula established by the Geneva accords, thus significantly changing its meaning.

As soon as Soviet troops began to withdraw, a non-stop production line of violations was set in motion. Their list could totally refute the assertion heard here yesterday that bloodshed has diminished in the region. On the contrary, terror has been mounting sharply, and it is increasingly directed against civilians.

Under these circumstances the fact is that faithful compliance by some with their obligations creates conditions for others to commit new crimes, of which the most heinous is the destruction of painfully acquired hopes.

This cannot be allowed to happen. The chain of conflict settlement generated by Afghanistan must not be allowed to break.

We are not complaining to anyone. We have the means to make things fall into place. But we are responsible to the United Nations, and therefore we are appealing to it.

We are proposing that a meeting of the permanent members of the Security Council hosted by the UN secretary general discuss the question of compliance with the Geneva accords. It would be appropriate also to invite there representatives of the parties directly concerned.

The deep involvement of the United Nations in the resolution of major international problems has spotlighted the acute need for new mechanisms of verification. We propose that the idea of an international monitoring and verification agency be considered within the framework of the United Nations.

That body's terms of reference could be very broad. Disarmament and security in all its aspects are becoming an increasingly multilateral and truly international process. The institution of monitoring and verification should be equally international.

Many countries feel the need for it. Thus, Japan is proposing an interesting idea of a worldwide seismic monitoring of nuclear explosions. France has what we regard as a reasonable idea of setting up an international satellite monitoring system.

How could they be implemented? Naturally, the most sensible way is to make them part of a universal monitoring and verification mechanism that would operate under United Nations auspices or within its structure.

Verification is no longer a preference but an imperative of our time.

An imperative of our time is to search for forms and methods of societies' development that would be in line with modern requirements.

Certainly, this is true with respect to socialism but, with equal certainty it applies to other sociopolitical systems.

While we are changing in both our own and international interests, we are entitled to expect the same kind of restructuring from others.

Separating the seed from the chaff, distinguishing the right choice from the wrong one, and achievments from deteriorations, we are unforgiving in judging the past. Being self-critical is the canonical rule for politicians who believe in their people and want the people to believe them.

But we expect the same strict self-criticism in assessments of the past from certain statesmen addressing their statements to the world community.

It is appropriate to mention this in the year marking the anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights, which some are marking by reasserting the supremacy of law—and others, by preaching their own faultlessness.

We could list numerous international instruments on human rights which have not been ratified by the countries represented here by some speakers.

We could speak of civil rights violations in those countries.

But we prefer to speak of ourselves.

The supremacy of law is a cornerstone of political renewal in our country. Creating a state of law also has a direct bearing on our foreign policy.

A constitutionally authorized mechanism for working out and adopting strategic foreign policy decisions is being put in place in our country. It calls for a democratic procedure of choosing the best option, exercised by elected representatives of the people in full accord with the will of the people, as expressed in the same democratic way in an atmosphere of total glasnost.

Questions such as military budgets, the use of troops outside the country, and innovations in the development of the armed forces will also be subject to constitutional and legal scrutiny.

For us, the principle of the supremacy of law and the policy of democratizing our society are indivisible. The emergence of a state of law links up with the global will to assert the primacy of international law as the standard for mankind's existence. Among politico-military, economic, humanitarian and environmental guarantees of universal security, we view its legal guarantees as paramount.

From states of law to a world of law—such is the logic of movement.

A starting point along this path could be the elaboration of a major long-term program for the development of international law. Its thrust could be expressed in the motto "security, trust, and cooperation through law".

We must also work persistently to enhance the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice on the basis of developing a common approach of all states to this main judicial body of the United Nations.

Completing the preparation of a code of crimes against peace and the security of mankind would be a major step.

Probably nowhere is the role of law so important as in ensuring freedom of choice, which is the linchpin in new political thinking. For how can there be any freedom to choose one's own way in a situation when international law is constantly violated as can be seen in southern Africa, the Middle East, Central America, and elsewhere.

Freedom of choice defies restrictions within ideological borders or geographical zones. It cannot be stopped by "crusade"; it can only be recognized.

It is absolute, and equally absolute is our respect for it, regardless of what a particular country's orientation is.

By defining freedom of choice as the key link in new political thinking, we hope to use this key to open many doors that until now have been tightly locked.

Recognizing the diversity of interests, the priority of universal human values and the supremacy of political means in solving international problems, and replacing confrontation with dialogue—all these and other components of new political thinking have resulted in substantial and, hopefully, irreversible positive changes.

And yet, the fires of political inquisition are still ablaze in the world, and some would try to put at the stake entire nations and movements accused of the "heresy" of having chosen freely their own way. Ideology in the shape of rocket projectiles crushes them with the cruelty of a medieval axe.

I would like to underscore that our sympathy is on the side of those who seek to achieve freedom of choice.

Why can the great American people, for instance, have their own great dream, and why should the Cuban or the Nicaraguan, the Angolan or the Vietnamese, or the Ethiopian peoples be deprived of the right to have their own ideals?

Why should the Palestinian people be deprived of the native land?

Why should other nations, countries and movements be humiliated by great power arrogance?

While not renouncing any of our values or denying to others the right to have their own, while continuing to respect the peoples' yearning for national self-assertion and liberation from economic subjugation and political dependence, the Soviet Union supports a deideologization of international relations and the exclusion of an overwhelming component of ideological differences from foreign policy and diplomacy. It expects and wishes that others do likewise.

It expects the problem of how to pool our efforts to be recognized as commensurate with the problem of mankind's survival. It expects the force of peace-making policy to prevail over the policy of force which has run its historical course.

The division of mankind into great and small countries has also run its historical course. And if the term "great powers" is to be retained at all, it is only in the sense of great responsibility to the rest of the world.

Divisions and redivisions of the world into spheres of influence are historically pointless. Today, we must all have only one sphere of influence—our planet. It will perish if our influence on the threatening course of destructive developments is divided and fragmented into blocs and systems.

Therefore the Soviet leadership has tried to reinterpret more profoundly the idea, originally inherent in Marxism, of the interrelationship between class and universal human values, according priority to the interests shared by all nations.

In our vision of peaceful coexistence as the universal principle of international relations, it does not appear as a special form of class struggle.

A rigid polarization of the world which is becoming increasingly diverse must give way to its consolidation, which allows the rivalry of two different systems to take on non-confrontational forms.

This, if you will, is also a choice whose freedom is born of new political thinking and of its dialectics which makes it possible to put policies to the test of real life.

But it would seem that not everyone measures up to that freedom. Obstinately clinging to divisive fetishes, some would try to put a brake on the action of centripetal forces.

As a result, many red-letter days have not appeared on the new calendar of peace this year.

For example, it does not include a date marking the completion of a treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic arms. The pace of real disarmament set by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is slowing down as the negotiations proceed.

We seemed to have dealt with the issue of verification once and for all. But it has come up again because of the negative position of our negotiating partners. It looks as if the Russian proverb "trust but verify" is good only when applied to the Soviet Union but is not acceptable as regards the United States.

We once again call on the United States to reconsider its attitude to verification of the reduction and elimination of nuclear arsenals.

For verification is something more than a technical check on the parties' compliance with their obligations. It is a material expression of sincerity and honesty, without which it is impossible to make policy today.

It is also regrettable that an agreement barring weapons from outer space has not been concluded in 1988.

We had every reason to hope that 1988 would witness the signing of a history-making global convention on the complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. Indeed, most of the complex fundamental issues have either been settled or are close to agreement. But once again, the sticky quagmire of procrastination is thwarting the final step towards victory. Meanwhile, in the absence of progress an alarming trend toward the spread of chemical weapons and what I would call chemical permissiveness is surreptitiously beginning to develop.

We do not object to exploring alternative ways. The Soviet Union positively regards the proposal made yesterday by the U.S. President to convene a conference of the parties to the 1925 Geneva protocol. At the same time we, of course, assume that the drafting of the convention banning chemical weapons will be continued and completed.

The start of the process of nuclear disarmament has brought into sharper focus the problem of conventioinal armed forces and armaments, including naval armaments. In that area, too, great hopes were being pinned on this year. The program of radical reductions in the military capabilities of the two opposing politico-military alliances proposed by Warsaw Pact countries has put the problem on a track of practical solutions.

We have a clear goal—to achieve a situation in which the two sides would only have the forces and capabilities sufficient for defense but insufficient for launching a surprise attack or conducting offensive operations.

High on the calendar of priorities is the problem of assuring Asian security. It affects in a direct way the future of the entire world. Therefore the Soviet leadership is so persistently seeking to contribute to the start of serious and specific discussions of the problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

There is also another priority problem. Access to conventional weapons in their most modern modifications is expanding. Their technological sophistication makes it easier to use them.

There is now no need to spend much time and money on special training, and anyone can easily operate those infernal devices.

In other words, conventional weapons are becoming part of everyday life, a common tool in the hands of too many people. This dangerous situation, which is most typical of regional conflicts, calls for a joint effort to constrain the international arms markets.

Working out the mandate for the future negotiations is also a collective undertaking. Jointly with our allies, we have been finding solutions which bring general agreement closer.

Speaking of unfulfilled hopes, we have to mention the lack of progress in settling some of the most pressing problems, such as those of the Middle East and Central America.

Today, it is clearer than ever before what needs to be done. Elementary common sense enjoins that consolidation of forces must be placed above their fragmentation, and a constructive dialogue above destructive skepticism. All of us can no longer waste our time on mutual faultfinding, on mutual recrimination and reproaches. The growing physical destruction of our planet is the verdict against the existing division of the world.

It is because of that division that so many pages in the 1988 calendar have not been filled. It is for the same reason that this year has had such a generous supply of somber dates.

It is perhaps for the first time that we have seen the stark reality of the threat to our environment—a second front fast approaching and gaining an urgency equal to that of the nuclear-and-space threat.

For the first time we have clearly realized that in the absence of any global control man's so-called peaceful constructive activity is turning into a global aggression against the very foundations of life on earth.

For the first time we have understood clearly what we just guessed—that the traditional view of national and universal security based primarily on military means of defense is now totally obsolete and must be urgently revised.

Faced with the threat of environmental catastrophe, the dividing lines of the bipolar ideological world are receeding. The biosphere recognizes no division into blocs, alliances or systems. All share the same climatic system and no one is in a position to build his own isolated and independent line of environmental defense.

Man-made "second nature"—the technosphere—has turned out to be dangerously fragile. The consequences of many of its breakdowns are becoming international and global.

The environmental crisis is being exported on an increasing scale, with toxic technologies, facilities, products and wastes spreading, overtly or covertly, through the channels of economic relations.

Quite deliberate attempts are being made to turn densely populated areas of the "Third World" into toxic waste dumps.

In a situation like this it is suicidal to try to economically rein in progressive national developments, to wear down an imaginary enemy through economic pressures.

It is unreasonable to impede the economic reconstruction of countries that seek to restructure their energy industries and introduce resource-saving and waste-free technologies thus making the world less dangerous.

It is much more sensible, as we are proposing to the United States and other countries, to abolish some planned or on-going military programmes and channel the funds thus released towards instituting an international regime of environmental security.

All the environmental disasters of the current year have placed in the forefront the task of pooling and coordinating efforts in developing a global strategy for the rational management of the environment.

All of us, and I emphasize all of us, need an international program to manage the risks involved in economic activities and to shift to alternative technologies that spare both man and nature.

We need resources to save our planet, instead of destroying it.

I think that the world community has such resources. But they have to be supplemented by the will and readiness to act, and, secondly, by an effective mechanism for international ecological cooperation.

It is quite clear that in this area, too, nothing can be done without the tools of new political thinking.

In this area too, we must emphasize the factor of time. We have too little of it, and problems are piling up faster than they are solved.

Even the implementation of the positive decisions already adopted could take years and years. Just the physical elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will require 3 years of continuous daily work, and the treaty's entire "sequence of implementation" will take 13 years.

This makes it incumbent upon us to make responsible decisions today.

What are our liabilities?

Tens of thousands of nuclear warheads and hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic agents.

Mountains of conventional armaments.

Holes burned in the ozone layer and the eroding biosphere.

The greenhouse effect and the depletion of non-renewable sources of energy.

Acid rains and deserts devouring the green world.

Forest fires and floods.

Drying seas and dying fauna.

Terrorism against the peoples and aggression against nature.

What are our assets?

The world's growing maturity which makes it possible to pose and solve global problems on a planetary scale.

The growing world-wide "Green Peace" movement.

Shared perceptions of environmental scientists and policy-makers who are becoming increasingly active as environmentalists, as evidenced by the document of the states party to the Warsaw Pact and by the recent appeal issued by the Pugwash Movement.

The report entitled "Our Common Future", prepared by the World Commission headed by Mrs Brundtland, and UNEP's [United Nations Environmental Program] models of environmental renaissance to counter environmental apocalypse.

The experience of the past 3 years which attests to the possibility of removing corrosive growths from the body of the earth.

The experience of pooling the efforts of states in the use of advanced technologies, such as thermonuclear fusion and superconductivity, in the interests of human survival.

This year's calendar has also included another event—the inauguration of the center for the development of an international experimental thermonuclear reactor by scientists from many countries. They will chart the routes towards the inexhaustible sources of energy for the coming century and at the same time develop a model of joining efforts in the interests of all.

Among our assets is the realization that a monopoly of a small number of countries over advanced technologies and attempts at all costs to keep others on the sidelines of the emerging science-and-information world may boomerang against the monopolists.

Among our assets is the United Nations, whose high efficiency has been so graphically demonstrated by the events of 1988. They have also highlighted a simple but very meaningful truth—when nations, particularly the great powers, start to cooperate, the United Nations gains in influence and strength, once again capturing the spirit of its initial objectives.

It is true that the fable about two elephants stamping out grass is still popular. President Reagan's speech yesterday would seem to indicate that "the grass" is not being threatened.

We do not want to fight, and love is still a remote possibility.

Speaking seriously, the world community has gained much from the improvement in Soviet-American relations.

In this regard I am pleased to quote a remark by Mr Perez de Cuellar.

"The meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan," he said, "has shown the world community an example of voluntary dialogue. Governments have suddenly realized that the United Nations is quite an appropriate place for negotiations and for solving problems."

Exactly. I would just add: The most appropriate place. And if in the past it has not always been that, the organization itself is the least to blame.

Let us say frankly that many of us, including particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, are to blame for the fact that at some point certain fundamental values of our organization, embodied in its charter, were diminished. Now that they are reverting to their initial level, we are duty bound to learn from the bitter lessons of the past for the sake of the future.

Today, for instance, the Soviet Union is reconsidering its previous attitude to the organization's economic institutions.

In particular, we attach great importance to the activities of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and would like to contribute to enhancing its effectiveness.

No country stands to gain by keeping aloof from the international forums of our organization. Having drawn this more than evident conclusion, we are asking: Should not some of our partners take a fresh look at their attitude towards UNESCO?

The permanent members of the Security Council should set an example in strengthening the authority of the United Nations, enhancing its role, and expanding and enriching its peace-making functions.

All of us here are witnesses to our organization's renaissance. At the same time, we are its architects.

We shall enhance the role of the United Nations even more by concerted efforts to combat the threats to our environment.

It is, we believe, within the framework of the United Nations that an international mechanism should be established to formulate urgent decisions on pressing global problems, above all economic and environmental problems.

The Soviet Union proposes a discussion on how to turn the United Nations Environment Program into an environmental council capable of making effective decisions to ensure ecological security. It proposes that a three-event series of emergency meetings should be held—of course, under the auspices of the United Nations—to coordinate efforts in the field of ecological security:

—A consultative meeting of experts in 1989 to discuss the health of the earth;

—A summit meeting of the leaders of 15 or 20 states representing all continents and the Nonaligned Movement, an influential force of our times, in 1990;

—The second United Nations international conference on the environment to be held, as planned, in 1992 or even earlier but, in any event, at the summit level.

Distinguished colleagues,

We have been speaking of a calendar of real accomplishments, a calendar of ideas not yet realized, and a calendar of hopes and plans for the future.

The review of this year that we have undertaken is not an end in itself. What can be an end in itself is the inner moral principles of seeking progress and the political need to identify the moment of truth which from time immemorial has tended toward motion, toward overcoming inaction.

This year has been full of both movement and slowdowns. It has shown that Mikhail Gorbachev was right when he said: "A complex and in many respects unusual situation is developing in the world. We are in the beginning of a new, long road that promises both new prospects and new problems".

Which tendency will prevail? What will gain the upper hand—the tendency toward further movement ahead or the inertia of stagnation ?

The answer is to be found in abandoning certain dogmas, even though cast in the form of "eternal" truisms. We have to write a new catechism of international existence, in which in the beginning will be thought and reason, followed by deeds for the sake of our common salvation and development.

Shevardnadze Answers Questions

LD2709204088 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—After making a speech at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, answered questions of journalists.

When asked to comment on the "softening" of Soviet-American relations, he said: "It is not softening, it is an improvement, a serious improvement of Soviet-American relations. In this respect I agree with the conclusion drawn by the U.S. President. I believe that all will agree with it. Much has changed in the past three years."

Shevardnadze described as a positive step supported by the USSR the proposal made by the U.S. President at the U.N. on chemical weapons to convene a conference of signatories to the 1925 Geneva protocol. He pointed out that this proposal could speed up the concluding of a convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

Answering a question about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the implementation of the Geneva accords, Shevardnadze said that the first stage had been completed. The implementation of the second stage has not been started so far. He pointed out that some questions had been raised by him in his speech. Violations must be stopped, and this is the most important thing.

Shevardnadze said that he was going to meet U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, and it was quite possible that a meeting would be held next Friday between permanent members of the U.N. Security Council on the level of ministers and the U.N. secretary general. Let us see what can be done on the level of the Security Council, specifically, in connection with the Middle East problem, he said.

Petrovskiy, Gerasimov News Briefing

LD2809014188 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—TASS correspondents Vladimir Matyash and Vyacheslav Chernyshov report:

"The main working unit of this universal international alliance, its engine, its heart are here, in our house of peace, as are the people who have found ways to increase the power of the instruments of peace-making, and we thank them for that".

This impressive idea expressed in a speech that was made by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly became a keynote of the first briefing for numerous journalists held by a Soviet delegation at the U.N. headquarters.

Speaking at the briefing—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told journalists in detail about a principled policy of the Soviet Union aimed at enhancing the prestige of the United Nations Organization as a unique international forum. Specifically, V. Petrovskiy, deputy head of the Soviet delegation, pointed out that the U.S. [as received] was the unique world centre of ensuring both universal and regional security, the security of each and every country.

In this capacity the U.N. should play a more active and direct part in warding off the main threat facing humanity—the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, Petrovskiy said.

We should like to see, he continued, a more profound participation of the world community in the nuclear disarmament process, in the reaching of a universal agreement on the termination and banning of nuclear weapons tests, in the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

Outer space should become a target of a special attention of the U.N. The world community is vitally interested in outer space not to become an arena of military rivalry, Petrovskiy said.

The Soviet representative spoke in detail about practical aspects of the work of the General Assembly as one of the principal U.N. bodies. He pointed out that the General Assembly should perceptibly increase its contribution to the quest of ways and means of the solution of international problems, including through the renewal and improvement of methods and style of its work. It is important that the recommendations of the U.N. General Assembly adopted through voting should not be depreciated. The need has become evident for holding regular sessions of the Security Council on the level of foreign ministers, the way it is envisaged by the U.N. Charter.

The idea on convening special extended sessions of the Security Council in the hotbeds of tension deserves attention, Petrovskiy said. They could be held as well in capitals of the permanent members of the Security Council. The Soviet Union reiterates its readiness to host such a session in Moscow.

Much attention was devoted at the briefing to the creation of an all-embracing system of international security. According to Petrovskiy, the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles which set the beginning of genuine nuclear disarmament was a real breakthrough in this sphere. An agreement on a 50 percent reduction of the Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons along with strict observance of the ABM Treaty should be the next step in this direction. The interests of security that would be universal and equal for all make it incumbent to resolve without any delays the problem of a nuclear test ban, the prevention of the spreading of weapons to outer space, the completion as soon as possible of the working out of a convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, dramatic reductions in the conventional armaments and the armed forces and their limitation to the level of reasonable sufficiency.

Speech Termed 'Constructive'

LD2709223088 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—Correspondents Vladimir Matyash and Vyacheslav Chernyshov report:

The speech made by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly is in the centre of attention of the world community.

It is appraised here as the convincing confirmation of the Soviet Union's principled course of enhancing the role of the United Nations as a unique instrument for maintaining and preserving peace, settling complex regional conflicts.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who was present in the hall of plenary meetings of the General Assembly when the Soviet Foreign Minister made his speech, said it was the most constructive speech of all time, though he noted that he agreed not with every word in it.

U.S. Ambassador at the United Nations Vernon Walters said that Eduard Shevardnadze's speech was constructive and friendly. In an interview to the TASS correspondents he said that was a good speech with many new ideas. The United States welcomes them. It is particularly important, said Vernon Walters, that the Soviet minister touched upon the problem of environmental protection as one which is uppermost in the minds of the whole of mankind. This is a new element in the Soviet policy. Ecology is also giving rise to profound interest in the United States, he said, and expressed readiness to promote environemntal protection, jointly with the USSR. Commenting on Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in its part on the Afghan problem, Walters said that he found many interesting things in it.

Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland described as "exclusively constructive and impressive" the speech made by foreign minister of the USSR. "The emphasis made on disarmament and solution of pressing problems facing mankind deserve the highest appraisal", she said.

The prime minister said she hoped that the ideas and proposals made in the speech would be a contribution to "progress and economic development of mankind."

The Soviet minister's speech was positively assessed by British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Geoffrey Howe. The TASS correspondents have been told by him that this is a major constructive and interesting speech which deserves most thorough attention and study.

Perez de Cuellar Praises Speech

LD2709212488 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov reports:

The Soviet foreign policy programme, which was set forth today in the speech by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze at the U.N. General Assembly session, has attracted profound attention.

That was an exceedingly important and substantive speech, the TASS correspondent has been told by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. It is gratifying that the speech expressed firm support for the United Nations.

Javier Perez de Cuellar said it was absolutely clear to him that the Soviet Union was striving to use the existing U.N. mechanism in approaches to solution of most different international problems.

Among a multitude of ideas expressed special mention should be made of the proposal that the role of the United Nations Organization, its General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council be enhanced. Very interesting are the proposals linked with environmental protection, said Perez de Cuellar.

BCP's Mladenov Cited

LD2709225088 Moscow TASS in English 2229 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

"The significance of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly is apparently determined in the first place by the increased possibilities of the international organisation in coordinating global activities aimed at ensuring durable peace," the TASS correspondent has been told by Petr Mladenov, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, foreign minister of Bulgaria.

This change for the better has taken place, the minister said, owing to the impact of philosophy and practice of the new political thinking on the international life as a whole.

"We view today's speech made by Foreign Minister of the USSR Comrade Shevardnadze as a comprehensive platform for futher reconstruction of international relations on a non-violent, democratic and humanistic basis. The speech contains a thorough scientific analysis of the main problems and contradictions of the present-day

world, which uncovers their dynamics and dialectics and meanwhile indicates ways for their solution through the reasonable balancing of the interests."

Believing that struggle for survival of mankind is the priority objective, the USSR views from the principled position the military-political, economic, social-humanitarian, legal and economic factors of universal peace and security, in a single complex. Such a stand makes emphasis on the main, unifying elements in the process of world development, without drawing into futile discussions on "righteousness" and "sin."

"And one more thing—the new constructive ideas, enshrined in the Soviet minister's speech, are marked with realism, topicality and purposefulness. We are convinced that realisation of these ideas will be a major step towards further improvement of the international climate," said Petr Mladenov.

CSSR's Chnoupek on Speech

LD2809091988 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshov:

The Soviet foreign policy programme, which was laid down in the speech of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, at the United Nations was an expression of state wisdom and a thorough analysis of the situation in the world in all of its aspects, Bohuslav Chnoupek, foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, said in a TASS interview.

It made a great impression on delegates of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session by its emphasis and thrust on universal human values and interests, he stressed.

In the opinion of the head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the session, the Soviet foreign minister's speech is built on three fundamental issues which pass into the focus of attention of all United Nations member states: Enhancing the role of the United Nations Organisation and its bodies; using to the maximum extent its peacemaking potential, above all peace-keeping operations; and compulsory observance of international law. The Soviet foreign minister came with new proposals which are welcomed in the walls of the United Nations. We regard as of particular importance his statement indicating to the threat of both a nuclear war and ecological catastrophe, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said.

The speech by the head of the USSR foreign policy department, which is constructive and rich in content, reflects the Soviet Union's sense of responsibility for the future of peace and international security, Chnoupek stressed. We see in it a specific call for actions to create a nuclear weapons-free and non-violent world.

Wakil Backs Proposal on Afghanistan

LD2709204588 Moscow TASS in English 2037 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—Afghanistan fully supports the Soviet proposal, which was set forth in the speech made by the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session, that the permanent members of the Security Council should have a meeting with the U.N. secretary-general to discuss the question of compliance with the Geneva agreements on settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

This was stated to TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov by foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil.

"I fully agree with the assessment of the world's current situation by the Soviet minister, specifically what concerns the situation around Afghanistan and compliance with the Geneva agreements", said 'Abdul Wakil.

Shevardnadze Meets Genscher

LD2809053488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0355 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpts] New York, 28 Sep (TASS)—On Tuesday, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, continued his meetings here with political figures attending the 43d session of the UN General Assembly. [passage omitted]

There was also a detailed 3-hour talk with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign minister. Preparation for the coming visit of FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl to the Soviet Union and the present state of relations between West and East were discussed.

The ministers confirmed that the visit of Federal Chancellor H. Kohl to the Soviet Union in October 1988 and the visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the FRG in the first half of 1989 would be outstanding events in bilateral relations.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that progress had been reached in preparations for the conclusion of a number of agreements. They expressed hope that the solutions, which had been found by experts, to practical problems connected with the involvement of West Berlin in cooperation in the field of protection of the environment and on the 2-year program of cultural cooperation, would make possible the signing of these agreements during the federal chancellor's visit. [passage omitted]

Comparison of Shevardnadze Meets Counterparts

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 28 September 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS New York dispatch on Shevardnadze's 26 September talks with

Western foreign ministers. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Meetings in New York," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 27 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 3-4, revealing the following variations:

Page 3

Column a

Paragraph four, fifth sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...of weapons, which obstructs the conclusion of... (substituting "obstructs" for "constructs")

Column b

Paragraph one, sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...reciprocity and agreement to our proposal to hold a... (inserting "to our proposal")

Paragraph six, second sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...with the USSR, behind only West... (deleting "leaving.")

Pakistani UN Delegate's 'Discordant' Speech

LD2809091188 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The speech made by Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Pakistani minister for foreign affairs, at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday surprised and disappointed a majority of the delegates to the session. He used the rostrum of the general political debate for unseemly attempts to blame somebody else for difficulties in the implementation of the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation.

His speech was full of assurances of Islamabad's "commitments" to the accords and its "goodwill" and "determination" to observe them. The foreign minister also praised both the Soviet Union for its "bold and constructive contribution" to the successful conclusion of the accords, and the United Nations organization under the auspices of which the accords had been reached.

But he did not say a word so as to show through whose fault the non-stop conveyor of violations of the accords began to operate, and with whose direct aid the extremists give greater scope to terror and "substantiate" by missiles and mines their disagreement with and non-acceptance of the Geneva accords. Meanwhile, as the Government of Afghanistan in a documented way and on the strength of material evidence has already informed the U.N. observers tens of times, extremists practise attacks with full backing of the Pakistani regime.

The leader of the Pakistani delegation to the U.N. session proved unable to disprove facts. Instead he resorted to unfoundedly accusing Afghanistan of violating Pakistani air space and frontiers.

Yaqub Khan's speech struck a note discordant to the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the participants in the session who already took part in the general political debate. They emphasise the need for full and thorough observance of all the provisions of the Geneva accords as an example of solution to other regional conflicts.

Diego Cordovez, who recently became the Ecuadorean minister of foreign affairs, and who continues so far as special representative of the U.N. secretary-general for a settlement of the Afghanistan situation, pointed out that everyone hoped that the negotiating process which had led to the signing of the accords in Geneva should become a step towards building a world free from attempts at seeking a solution to problems on the basis of force, confrontations and mutual distrust.

Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, emphasised that his country supported the efforts towards implementation of the Geneva accords, and not in the last place through participation of the U.N. observer group in the region.

"We are calling on all parties to respect both the spirit and the letter of the accords so as to prevent anything that could frustrate them", emphasised President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Reagan's UN Speech 'Positive'

LD2709164888 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan's speech at the U.N. General Assembly, in our view was on the whole positive and calmer as compared with his previous statements at the United Nations, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, pointed out that the U.S. President, in a considerable part of his speech, analysed favourable trends developing in the world of late, including constructive aspects of Soviet-American relations.

The spokesman expressed satisfaction with positive conclusions made by Reagan with regard to prospects of negotiations, specifically his conclusion that 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive armaments were quite possible and even more than possible within a year.

"This strengthens one's confidence in the negotiations' success and our determination to persistently work toward this goal," Perfilyev said.

"One can agree with the President's assessment of constructive processes going on in the settlement of a number of regional conflicts," he went on .

"In this context, we also support Reagan's view on the important role of the United Nations and on the need to develop multilateral cooperation to avert regional conflicts."

The Foreign Minstry spokesman also said the speech by the head of the U.S. Administration contained elements which would hardly promote the solution of outstanding problems in the world. This applies, above all, to unjustified attacks on Nicaragua and Cuba.

Perfilyev emphasised in this connection that the conflict in Central America could be settled only on a basis of dialogue, including between Managua and Washington, rather than through mutual accusations.

He voiced regret that the President, this time too, made stereotype statements on the issue of human rights in the Soviet Union.

The spokesman said "the President's speech had a pronounced pre-election colouring".

On Japanese Island Talks

LD2709170088 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, refuted today reports appearing in the Japanese press to the effect that in the course of contacts with high-ranking Japanese Government officials in Paris early in September "Soviet Government sources" had allegedly probed a possibility of the transfer to the Japanese Government of the rent rights to four northern islands, as well as the Sakhalin Island, and of the creation of a special economic zone in the area of Vladivostok on the basis of joint enterprise.

Those reports presented as a sign of the change in the Soviet Union's attitude to the so-called territorial issue were taken up by the mass media of other countries, specifically, the U.S. and Britain.

In this connection the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "The above mentioned reports are absolutely groundless. There have been no contacts between Soviet and Japanese representatives for discussing the 'territorial issue' either in Paris or in any other place. A principled stand of the Soviet Union with regard to Japan's claims on part of Soviet territory continues to be the same as the one that was set forth in official Soviet statements".

Pakistan's 'Irresponsible Actions'

LD2709164288 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—The uncompromised, aggressive stand of the anti-government forces in Afghanistan is largely attributed to irresponsible actions of Pakistan which is rendering them all-round support and assistance contrary to the Geneva agreements.

This was stated at a briefing today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. In the Lowgar Province, for instance, the rebels are planning to capture its centre—Baraki. It has become known that major armed opposition groups are being amassed in the area of Miromshah (Pakistan), to make the attack. Heavy arms are being transferred from Pakistan to Afghanistan's territory.

"Pakistani officials have started even more frequently openly assuring leaders of the opposition that military and economic aid to them would continue. Such a statement was made, for instance, by minister of Pakistan's North-western Frontier Province, Fazl Haq. Obviously inspired by these assurances, the rebels stepped up the transfer of weapons and ammunition to Afghanistan's territory. Caravan routes in the area of the Parachinar Jut are being systematically used to deliever the cargo. Major batches of small arms are being prepared at depots in Pershawar for groups being transfered to Afghanistan from the Teri-Mangal area".

The USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan strictly abide by the provisions of the Geneva agreements, while Pakistan believes that it has a right to ignore them. But such a situation cannot endlessly exist, and "in this case the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take agreed upon steps which would be prompted by the shaping situation", said the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Denies Afghan Bombing of Pakistan

LD2709171888 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—A representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry has stated today that Afghanistan did not bomb and is not bombing targets on the territory of Pakistan.

Vadim Perfilyev commented on a FRANCE PRESSE report, transmitted from Peshawar on September 26, with reference to some official source, that Afghan aviation allegedly bombed Pakistani territory again. He said that "the report is false, it is at variance with reality".

The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry recalled that the Afghan side repeatedly turned down Pakistan's groundless accusations and proposed that an

unbiassed agency be formed to check into the alleged cases of violation of Pakistan's airspace by Afghan planes. But Islamabad did not accept this reasonable proposal.

U.S. Evades Aid to Afghanistan

LD2709175988 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Touching upon the programme of emergency assistance to Aghanistan through the United Nations, a representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry said at a briefing today that it means international assistance to the Afghan people in overcoming the war-caused difficulties. In this connection he noted that the U.S. Administration declared its intention to suspend assistance to the areas of Afghanistan which are controlled by the central government.

"This evinces the United States' departure from the principle it agreed with—humanitarian aid should not have any political strings attached", said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He said that the U.S. Congress under the right-wing pressure passed an amendment on ending financial support to a number of programmes of international organisations, including such as "vaccination of children" for population of areas of Afghanistan which are under control of the Afghan Government.

As to the Soviet Union's assistance, said the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, it allocated on a bilateral basis alone 305 million roubles to render assistance to Afghan refugees returning home and other needy population of Afghanistan. Afghan provinces and towns have been rendered support and assistance to a sum of about 80 million roubles by Soviet republics, regions and cities through direct channels.

Summary of Briefing

LD2709184288 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Soviet people welcome wholeheartedly the arrival in Moscow for a working visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the GDR State Council, and express hope that the present meeting of the top leaders of the USSR and the GDR would give a long-term impetus to the development of versatile cooperation between the two countries and would bring their relationship in general to a qualitatively higher level. This was stated today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Touching upon the Soviet Union's cooperation with the U.N., the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Government had decided to make a five-million-dollar contribution to the activities of the Iranian-Iraqi group of U.N. military observers for a three-month period from August 9 to November 9, 1988. Thus, "the USSR has fully met its financial commitments stemming from the resolutions of the resumed 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly".

From the point of view of the Soviet Union, the procrastination of the U.S. authorities with the issuing of visas to a considerable part of a Nicaraguan delegation to the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly is a gross violation of the U.N. Charter. "Washington is trying to deprive Nicaragua of the inalienable right to freely take part in the work of the U.N. and to include people in its delegation to the session of the U.N. General Assembly at its own discretion", Vadim Perfilyev said in this connection.

Answering a question about the situation in Lebanon, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that "the Soviet Union is concerned over the fact that Lebanese political groups have failed to reach agreement on holding presidential elections at a date set by the constitution. In the existing conditions it is important to prevent another outbreak of the civil war, much less the disintegration of the Lebanese state. With this in view it is necessary to put common national interests above anything else, to overcome confessional ambitions and to display discretion and restraint", he pointed out.

Science Official on IAEA Session Results

LD2709184688 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—"We regard the International Atomic Energy Agency as a unique organisation, which organizes international cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy and control over non-use of atomic energy for production of means of destruction". This was stated today by Boris Mayorskiy, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Directorate for International Cooperation in Science and Technology.

Speaking at a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the Soviet diplomat commented on the results of the recent 32nd session of the International Atomic Energy Agency. A qualitatively new situation has developed for activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency and development of atomic power engineering owing to the enactment of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, progress at the negotiations on reduction of strategic offensive armaments and prohibition of nuclear tests, he said.

The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry reaffirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to continue acting strictly in accordance with the convention on early notification of a nuclear accident.

The evidence of that are, specifically, the bilateral agreements on early notification of a nuclear accident, concluded by the Soviet Union with Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria. Negotiations are under way with West Germany, Turkey, and Britain, he said.

Third Varna East-West Forum Opens 24 Sep

PM2709115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting Opened"]

[Text] Varna, 24 Sep—"Varna-Forum III"—the third East-West meeting of prominent politicians, public figures, and representatives of business circles—opened today in the resort of "Golden Sands" near Varna. It is being held under the motto "New Thinking and the Restructuring of East-West Business Cooperation."

In frank debate the forum participants are discussing the strategy of expanding business ties between socialist and developed capitalist countries under conditions of a changing international situation.

Speaking at the opening of the meeting, T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, emphasized that the socialist countries are now implementing restructuring at an accelerated pace to one extent or another. It embraces the base and the superstructure and is aimed at democratizing society and all spheres of life. The vanguard contribution of the Soviet leadership headed by M.S. Gorbachev stands out in this process of renewal. The purpose of these efforts is to create a highly developed progressive society open to everything new and capable of ensuring material and spiritual flowering. The new political thinking proclaimed by the Soviet Union, T. Zhivkov continued, takes account of the experience and interests of not only the socialist countries but also all states, as well as the West's business circles, which have made a significant contribution to world development.

Our experience shows that it is now necessary to promote the world's transformation and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. This also means forming a new quality of cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. Mankind's further development must be a process of increasing cooperation, the Bulgarian leader said.

The meeting was addressed by V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium and head of the Soviet delegation, who read out a greetings message to the forum participants from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

T. Zhivkov received V.L. Malkevich the same day. Questions connected with the work of the Varna forum and also with the USSR's participation in the international industrial fair in Plovdiv and with the upcoming establishment of the Soviet-Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry were discussed in the course of talks which were held in a cordial atmosphere.

Ryzhkov Greetings Message

PM2709131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[N. Ryzhkov greetings message to Varna forum]

[Text] To the participants in the "Varna-Forum III" meeting

I greet the participants in the international meeting in Varna which has once again gathered prominent politicians, public figures, and representatives of business circles of East and West in hospitable Bulgaria to exchange opinions on global problems of the world economy and practical questions of trade and economic cooperation among countries.

The Soviet Union advocates creating and maintaining a trade and political situation in world economic relations characterized by stability, predictability, and observance of the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage. The establishment in the world community of the concept of international economic security, which presupposes mutual respect and regard for each other's interests, could help to achieve these ends.

The radical economic reform being implemented in the USSR and, in particular, the strengthening of enterprises' economic independence and the decentralization of foreign economic ties are creating favorable preconditions for the USSR's more profound participation in the international division of labor and for the development of new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation both on the European continent and in East-West relations as a whole. The Soviet Union is open to large-scale economic cooperation in various spheres, including joint projects in the spheres of power generation and ecology, in opening up the ocean's resources, and in the peaceful use of space. The rational utilization of the tremendous economic and intellectual potential accumulated by mankind can and must serve exclusively the interests of peaceful development.

I wish all the participants in the Varna forum fruitful work and successes in expanding mutually advantageous cooperation for the good of peace and mutual understanding among the peoples.

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

U.S., Japan 'Force' After Krasnoyarsk Viewed

PM2709143988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts "Military-Political Review": "Problems Cannot Be Solved by Force"]

[Text] A week has passed since M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, proposed a specific program in his speech at Krasnoyarsk to reduce tension in the Asian and Pacific region and guarantee lasting peace and mutually advantageous cooperation in the region. During this week the new Soviet initiatives have been assessed by official figures, members of the military, and political experts in many Asian countries. Positive appraisals prevail.

But the initial response from Washington and Tokyo are more worrying than hopeful. In this respect I would describe the reaction of official Japanese circles as bittersweet. On the one hand, they have expressed satisfaction that the Soviet Union is trying to develop Soviet-Japanese relations. On the other, they are trying—for the umpteenth time—to link these relations to territorial claims against our country. Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno has hastened to say that Tokyo cannot completely trust the Soviet initiatives, as, according to him, Moscow conducts a "tough military policy in the Far East."

Washington is simply trying to keep quiet about these important proposals. Whenever official spokesmen for the administration are asked direct questions on this score, as happened during the hearings in Congress with R. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state, they offer the unconvincing explanation that the United States has not yet formulated a comprehensive response to the Soviet initiatives. It is true that with regard to some of these initiatives it has already been said that their implementation "does not suit American interests." For example, Washington immediately rejected our proposal to remove the Soviet Navy materiel and technical backup center from Cam Ranh Bay if the United States were to eliminate its own bases in the Philippines.

Using various pretexts, Washington avoids discussing the problems of security in the Asian and Pacific region. "As an island state," U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci said recently while speaking in Hong Kong, "the United States is dependent on raw material supplies from other countries and must continue the forward deployment of its forces in the Asian and Pacific region. There is no cheaper way to guarantee U.S. security." This was immediately followed by a remark on the growing "Soviet military threat" in the region. Carlucci spoke of some new Soviet divisions and the buildup of our fleet in the Far East. I do not think he believes it all himself.

But suppose he does believe it. Suppose the Americans are seriously concerned by the problem of security along lines of communication in the Pacific and are worried by certain Soviet actions in the Asian and Pacific region. In that case there would be even more reason for the administration to sit down at the negotiating table and discuss proposals to limit military and primarily naval activity. All the more so in view of the fact that the Soviet Union shows flexibility and an understanding of the concern felt by the other side—as demonstrated, for example, by the experience of work on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

It seems, however, that the present situation suits Washington. American strategists are clearly counting on ensuring their country regional superiority in the Asian and Pacific region if not global superiority. The Pentagon needs this to be able to implement its policy of threats and pressure in relation to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To this end steps are being taken to consolidate and build up the military presence in the Asian and Pacific region. These include the endless parade of large-scale maneuvers, during which the participants rehearse carrying out attacks on enemy shores (the "Team Spirit" maneuvers), large naval engagements ("Rimpac"), and other problems of conducting aggressive combat operations. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has written about this on more than one occasion.

But I believe that there are also other reasons behind Washington's efforts to preserve and even intensify military confrontation. I am referring to the U.S. reaction to the rapid development of other states in the Asian and Pacific region. "In the next 10 years the economy of this region will grow approximately 2 percent per annum more quickly than the economy of the world as a whole," according to a report recently prepared by the international accountancy firm "KPMG Peat Marwick." This same report also indicates the uneven nature of this development, which is resulting in increased conflicts between states in the region.

U.S.-Japanese economic contradictions are becoming increasingly acute. The U.S. press is simply spilling over with worrying reports on this subject. "I do not wish to appear a panicmonger, but I am haunted by the unpleasant feeling that we have become history," the author of an article in the newspaper THE BOSTON GLOBE wrote, for example, on the subject of the Japanese economic offensive against the United States. And the Japanese have gained important high ground in this attack. Suffice it to say that between 1980 and 1987 Japanese investment in the economy of the United States itself grew by 611 percent and reached $33.4 billion.

So, finding itself in this situation, Washington is pinning its hopes on militarization. Addressing the Asia Society recently, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz stressed that the United States "will possibly be able to settle organizational matters in the region, partly on the basis of security considerations." In practice this means that the

United States intends to continue to pose as the main protector of Asian states against "threat." And for this to happen it must maintain the infamous "enemy image" with regard to the Soviet Union. In this way Washington is trying to hold onto its military hegemony at least, if not its economic domination (which seems to be irretrievably lost), which will allow it to call its economic rivals to order.

Moreover, the winds of "cold war" which Washington is trying to whip up over the Pacific must also swell the sails of American arms traders. Take Japan again as an example. Having pledged, at the prompting of the United States, to establish a 1,000-mile control zone around the Japanese islands, Tokyo was forced to buy a large batch of U.S. patrol aircraft. And no sooner had the Japanese Navy begun to rehearse the escorting of U.S. aircraft carriers than an agreement was signed to supply the "naval self-defense forces" with the "Aegis" system. The contract is worth $468 million.

Military purchases, participation in various militarist programs—all this is weakening the United States' allies economically. And, finally, under confrontational conditions Washington is closing its own market to goods from Asian countries while at the same time preventing them from profitable trade with socialist states. It explains this by "strategic considerations." It is enough to recall the fit of hysterics thrown by the Americans over the sale of Toshiba machine tools to the Soviet Union.

It should be pointed out that Tokyo has accepted the American rules of the game. And, also under the pretext of a "Soviet military threat," it is rapidly building up its military might. "If measured in absolute terms," W. Taft, U.S. deputy secretary of defense, emphasized when addressing a conference recently held under the aegis of the State Department—"Technology in the Pacific Region in the Next Century: Trade, Security, Competitiveness"—"Japanese defense expenditure now equals or exceeds the expenditure of any other U.S. NATO ally."

Japan is undergoing an amazing metamorphosis. This country successfully demonstrated to the whole world what can be achieved when there is no heavy burden of military expenditure. But now Tokyo itself has broken the old established limit on military expenditure and has begun to determinedly increase this expenditure.

In this respect, it seems to me, factors other than the imperial ambition remaining from the times of aggression in Asia have a role to play. "I cannot believe," the author of an article in U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT pointed out, "that a country can strengthen its business and financial interests in the world without safeguarding them with means of protection. I predict that in the next 10 years Japan will become a major military power."

Influential circles in Japan itself are clearly thinking along similar lines. They are aware how complex Japanese relations with other Asian states are. The unfair, unbalanced trade exchange and powerful economic expansion are associated in the minds of people in Asian countries with Japan's military expansion in the thirties and forties. That is why Tokyo is trying to create a powerful armed forces that would not so much guarantee the security of the Japanese islands as the "activeness" of Japanese capital.

So is it possible to find a way out of economic impasses by following the "military path"? Obviously the drug of militarism can alleviate the severity of the problem for a certain time. In principle, however, this path has no future. "The opportunity to use the colossal potential inherent in Asia and the basin of two great oceans for general progress and peace throughout the world will be lost," M.S. Gorbachev stressed when speaking in Krasnoyarsk, "if we do not now thoroughly study the whole sum of complex problems in this vast region of the world. It could even develop into its own opposite—a source of the dangerous proliferation of regional and global conflicts." The increase in military preparations carries the threat of just such a turn of events.

It is very significant that the Soviet leadership has backed up its 7-point program to reduce tension in Asia and strengthen security in the region with considerations concerning the development of cooperation in trade and the economy.

At this point I would like to go back to the speech made by the secretary of state at the Asia Society. He ended it with the appeal: "Let us not be afraid of answering in the affirmative." Well, people are waiting for Washington to finally say "yes" to cooperation in the name of security rather than to new military preparations.

United States & Canada

Reagan Address at United Nations Assessed

Speech Notes 'Real Breakthrough'

LD2809003188 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Addressing the UN General Assembly on Monday, President Ronald Reagan spoke of a new era in Soviet-American relations. Radio Moscow observer Vladislav Kozyakov writes:

It was Reagan's seventh speech before the United Nations since he came into office at the White House, but it was the first time he spoke about a real breakthrough in Soviet-American relations. He mentioned the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles which puts the beginning to nuclear disarmament. He also said that a new agreement could be expected in a year's time on a 50 percent-cut in strategic offensive weapons. The President traced the improvement in Soviet-American relations up to the first summit he had with Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva nearly 3 years ago. So, he added, if future generations will say that in our time peace came closer, it will be a cause for pride.

And what a long, long way we had to cover to attain such a result. It required the efforts of both sides, and those efforts were made. The Soviet Union's contribution included restructuring, openness, and a new political thinking proclaimed by the new leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev. As for the American side, credit should be given to President Reagan, who showed an understanding of the realities of the nuclear age and made steps to meet the Soviet Union halfway.

There would have been no positive moves in Soviet-American relations and there would have been no new era if the policy of the United States was oriented to only the crusade against the evil empire. If those conceptions advanced by the present administration in the first period of its stay in the White House ever go into history, that would be only as a very grim chapter. Hardly would the future generations be proud of an approach which was bringing mankind closer to disaster. Therefore, it was rather odd to hear in the President's speech some old stereotypes, some unrespectful remarks towards our country and also attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua. Incidentally, nothing was said about the need to adhere scrupulously to the accords on Afghanistan. They are being crudely violated by Pakistan, and that threatens to undermine the agreement whose guarantors are the Soviet Union and the United States. So, one of the most important Soviet-American agreements could be in danger.

Addressing the UN General Assembly, President Reagan said: I stand at this podium in a moment of hope, hope not just for the people of the United States or the Soviet Union but for all the peoples of the world. And the Soviet Union shares the hope for continuing the Soviet-American dialogue and making it more and more fruitful as far as strengthening international security is concerned.

Comments on 'Substantial Changes'

PM2709131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Dialogue Is Possible. The General Political Debate Has Begun at the 43d UN General Assembly Session"]

[Text] New York, 26 Sep—The general political debate began today at the 43d UN General Assembly session. It was opened by Brazilian Foreign Minister Roberto Costa de Abreu Sodre, who welcomed the recent positive changes in the world due to the achievement of a concrete agreement between the USSR and the United States on disarmament.

At present, he pointed out, a whole range of regional conflicts is being successfully settled, and tribute should be paid here to the decisive UN contribution. But there are still obstacles to the eradication of apartheid, the settlement of the Near East crisis, the ending of the Lebanese people's suffering, and the establishment of peace in Central America.

U.S. President R. Reagan talked about the substantial changes for the better in the international arena, paying special attention to relations between the United States and the USSR.

For the first time there are signs of a lessening of differences between East and West, Reagan noted in particular. Fundamental differences remain. However, he stressed, there is the prospect not only of a new era in Soviet-American relations, but of a new age of world peace.

At this very hour, the President continued, numerous negotiations are in progress: multilateral talks at the disarmament conference, as well as bilateral talks between the United States and the USSR on a wide range of issues. In the past few years progress has been achieved in these tense talks, and the logjam has been broken. Only recently, after the United States and the USSR signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, they embarked for the first time in history on the destruction of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. The progress made with the achievement of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was continued at the talks on strategic offensive armaments. "It is highly doubtful whether a treaty can be reached in a few months," Reagan said, "but I can say that in a year it will be possible, more than possible even."

He also described the Soviet-American discussion on questions of nuclear tests and space as "useful," while adding that "the United States confirms its adherence to

SDI." The President also called upon all countries to cooperate at talks on a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons at the disarmament conference in Geneva. The question of the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear armaments was a topic of discussion last week at the meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, he reported. Talks are beginning today on this question between U.S. and Soviet experts. Talks will soon be starting on cuts in the sphere of conventional armaments in Europe.

The sources of all this, Reagan believes, can be found in Geneva, in the small house by the lake where the U.S. President and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary held the first of several conversations—exchanges of opinions characterized by frankness and friendliness as well. "It was in that place, by a peaceful lake in neutral Switzerland," he said, "that Gorbachev and I began a new relationship."

The U.S. President also indicated the positive trends in the quest for a settlement of regional conflicts, singling out the "hopes for peace in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan." Talking about Afghanistan, he omitted to mention the very acute problem that is hindering the implementation of the Geneva agreements—Pakistan's gross violations of them. Reagan made particularly crude attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua, stressing that the "United States will continue to operate on the side of those" who are trying to overthrow the Sandinist government. Expressing support for a peaceful political settlement in southern Africa and for the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia, he again raised the question of Cuban troops in Angola, which has nothing to do with the matter. He said nothing specific about the Near East situation, which is a very grave threat to international peace and security. Concerning the question of human rights, the President did not mention the need to safeguard them in his own country. At the same time, he attacked many other countries, including the USSR.

IZVESTIYA Views Bush-Dukakis Debate

PM2709103588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev under general heading: "Television Debates Have Resolved Nothing"]

[Text] New York—According to the figures of the latest poll, nearly 40 percent of U.S. voters have either so far failed to determine their sympathy—or antipathy—with regard to the two main presidential candidates, or they will be prepared in the time remaining before the elections to switch from supporting one candidate to the other.

From this it is understandable why such importance has been attached to the televised debates between George Bush and Michael Dukakis. Despite the fact that the election campaign has essentially already been under way for a year, that the candidates have already delivered hundreds of speeches, that thousands of articles have been written about them and a large number of television items filmed about them, only on Sunday was America finally able to become closely acquainted with the men fighting for the presidential seat. For the first time Americans could see how the candidates behave and what they say in a situation requiring the most powerful intellectual, physical, and psychological exertion, and under the direct light of the television cameras, making it possible to see clearly even fleeting nuances of facial expression.

Psychologists believe that voters following the television debates are seeking first of all to understand which candidate will give him an easier time if he becomes president and which candidate is distinguished by greater confidence in his own abilities and strength. The slightest details play a part here: beads of sweat suddenly appearing on an upper lip, a wandering gaze, hurried speech, a voice pitched too high—all this can cancel out brilliant answers to the hardest questions.

This, incidentally, was the case during the first television debates, nearly 30 years ago, between R. Nixon and J. Kennedy. Those who heard the debates on radio were convinced that Nixon had won: His knowledge was deep and extensive, his replies thoughtful. But television viewers preferred Kennedy: He was the embodiment of confidence, composure, restraint, and charm, in which Nixon was so lacking, being not entirely well on the day of the debates and in addition extremely poorly made up. The content retreated to the background and "image" came to the fore. So it was in the second, decisive series of debates between R. Reagan and W. Mondale before the last presidential elections in 1984. At that time the studio lighting was so unprofessionally arranged that it gave the Democratic candidate an unusually tired and at the same time comical appearance. To this day, it is true, there are rumors that Reagan's men set up the lighting.

Preparation for the present debates was such that any accidental elements were ruled out. For many hours the advisers of Bush and Dukakis discussed the question of... the height of the rostrum behind which the contenders should stand. Psychologists, elocution instructors, and make-up and lighting experts worked intensively. And, finally, there were rehearsals. Bush and Dukakis had two rehearsals each during which they played themselves and their advisers played their opponents.

Perhaps it was for this reason that on Sunday voters heard nothing new, nothing that had not already been said and repeated dozens of times. Even in response to questions which were hard to predict, the candidates contrived to say what had obviously been learned by heart and painstakingly rehearsed.

The most striking thing, it seems to me, is that now, 6 weeks before the elections, neither Bush nor Dukakis has taken a precise, specific stance on a number of very important issues. For instance, neither has been able to say how he intends to eliminate or at least reduce the gigantic budget deficit and the astronomical and constantly increasing national debt. Problems of the struggle against homelessness, poverty, crime, and drug addiction—all this was reflected in a most diffuse, amorphous manner in the candidates' statements.

The replies to questions about their stances in the sphere of arms control and the field of Soviet-U.S. relations were more detailed. For instance, Bush stressed that his administration will continue the policy of "peace from a position of strength," and that it will carry out a full study of the "Star Wars" program "as rapidly as possible." And that "when this system can be deployed, it will be deployed." The vice president expressed himself in favor of elaborating a treaty on strategic nuclear arms, on banning chemical arms, and on reducing conventional arms. He stated that he is against unilateral reductions which, he gave to understand, are what his Democratic Party rival is seeking. Bush welcomed the process of changes in the Soviet Union but added that "we must keep our eyes open" because, he said, "the jury has not yet reached a final verdict on the Soviet experiment," that is, according to him it is not yet clear to Washington what is being done in the USSR and how.

As for Dukakis, he expressed himself in favor of the need for an effective nuclear deterrent potential and noted the senselessness of the "Star Wars" program, although he announced that his administration will support financing for research into this project at a level of $1 billion a year. The Democratic candidate stressed the importance of making progress along the path of reducing nuclear arms and along the path of negotiations on an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests. At the same time he confirmed his support for the programs for building and deploying the "Stealth" bombers, Trident-2 submarines with D-5 nuclear missiles on board, and improved cruise missiles.

This is if we are talking about the thrust of the statements. If we are talking about "image," my personal impression is that Dukakis won, albeit not by a great deal. Both candidates had a stock of several phrases known in American English as "one-liners"—a brief, one-line statement which viewers should remember and which will later be quoted by the press. The Democrat had a slightly larger number of "one-liners."

On the whole, however, the debates showed that the candidates are running virtually neck and neck. It is true that one further debate is to come—on 13 or 14 October—and that there will be a television duel between the vice presidential candidates. But if we are to judge by what happened on Sunday evening, in my opinion many voters will not decide whom to vote for until actual election day.

Candidates' Foreign Policy Views Weighed

PM2609133788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by own correspondent V. Gan under the rubric "Conversation With a Cabdriver From the U.S. 'Boondocks'": "Election Race"]

[Text] Washington—In Shreveport, Louisiana, the following dialogue took place with a cabdriver who was driving me from the local airport:

"Are you a Democrat or a Republican?"

"I'm a staunch Democrat, but on principle I won't vote for a man with a foreign name like 'Dukakis'."

"Why's that?"

"No, I'm not altogether opposed, but he doesn't say anything concrete."

"And what does Bush say?"

"Not a lot either, but at least he's against raising taxes. You know, I've spent my whole life at the wheel. I've never begged in my life, and I've always been firmly convinced that every buck I bring home is mine and that I've earned it honestly. Whereas under Reagan I paid 45 cents of every dollar in taxes, I don't want to pay more under this guy with a foreign name. That's why I'll vote for Bush."

Getting my bag out of the trunk, he said in parting:

"Everyone says that America should stand up straight and face the enemy. That's right. But it's standing on a pile of debts to other countries. Washington pays a very great deal for weapons. What's that got to do with me?"

Now, when approximately 7 weeks remain before the presidential election, the voices of people like the Shreveport cabdriver are becoming increasingly important. In fact today the public has still not formed a definite opinion regarding the rival candidates, which is in turn making possible sharp fluctuations in the support of particular groups of voters. Public opinion polls illustrate that Bush and Dukakis are, to use an American expression, neck and neck. This does not reflect George Bush's appeal to Americans so much as the loss of dynamism in Michael Dukakis' campaign, since the latter is for the most part forced to defend himself against attacks from the Bush camp. At any rate, a political scientist friend of mine pointed out recently that he did not see any particular differences in Bush's and Dukakis' views, judging, for instance, by their speeches at their party conventions. In principle both belong to the "American political center," and their maneuvers are explained by opportunism. "It is a question not of how to rule the country but of how to get

elected to the White House," my acquaintance said, adding that he did not expect any major changes in White House policy irrespective of which party wins.

There's hardly any point in judging how well-founded this analysis is. But I think that the remark about opportunism has foundation. This can be traced quite easily in the candidates' approaches to foreign policy questions, which are, naturally, of prime interest to us. It must be stipulated that—as specialists believe—the main struggle this fall will be for the votes of moderate and conservative voters who feel an affinity for the outgoing president but not necessarily for Bush. That is why Dukakis can't get very far by criticizing Reagan personally. Hence, probably, the vagueness and sometimes contradictoriness of his statements. Since—and this was established by THE WASHINGTON POST in the course of a special study—the incumbent President receives the highest assessments for establishing cooperation with the Soviet Union and lessening the danger of nuclear war but not for domestic policy, the Democratic candidate is displaying a degree of circumspection by praising the former in the "Reagan legacy," above all the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Stating that "we can achieve much more"—the platform ratified by the Democratic Convention advocates this—Dukakis supports the elaboration of strategic arms agreements, the limitation of the SDI program to the level of "research," not putting weapons into space, and the original interpretation of the ABM Treaty. His skepticism toward the MX and "Midgetmen" missiles is well known. However, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that "having intimidated conservative Democrats," he is now advocating the modernization of the U.S. strategic triad and the development of the D-5 missile for "Trident-2" nuclear submarines, cruise missiles, and the "Stealth" bomber. The candidate is pushing for a buildup in conventional arms and retention of the right to employ nuclear weapons in the event of war in Europe in conformity with NATO official doctrine. Dukakis' opinion on the need to hold talks on the question of a complete ban on nuclear tests is presented as "compensation" to the liberals.

He believes on the whole that there is now a "tremendous opportunity" in Soviet-U.S. relations to achieve agreements in the arms control sphere and to put these relations on a new footing. By and large this positive approach is "balanced" by his statements that he "resolutely supports a strong national defense and that his opposition to certain weapons systems does not reflect weakness but sensible economic opinions." Moreover, the Democratic platform to which Dukakis was a signatory states that America must "not slacken vigilance in the assumption that long-term Soviet interests have changed irreversibly," but must "check the intentions of the new Soviet leaders in the spheres of arms control, emigration, and human rights."

What's the upshot? The picture seems mixed, just as the views of people who have given Dukakis advice at one time or another—political specialist J. Nay, Senators Sarbanes, Nunn, and Cranston, and Congressmen Aspin and Hamilton—are mixed. It can probably be said that the governor is hardly "left of center," which is what the Republicans accuse him of. Some columnists predicted that as the campaign got under way, Dukakis would in all probability draw closer to Bush's positions. Their forecasts proved correct. Dukakis made three platform statements 1 week ago on questions of military and foreign policy, each of which his Republican rival could have made equally successfully. Although the purely external outline of his speeches bore a certain mark of realism, the content of Dukakis' speeches was reminiscent of the "hawks'" screams. The governor shook his fist threateningly at the Soviet Union, reviving the old bankrupt theories of all manner of "linkage" and "conditions." He said a great deal to the effect that his administration would require the USSR "to behave itself in exemplary fashion." This was followed by arguments on the need to build up U.S. and NATO military potentials and on "distrust of Moscow's goodwill."

"Dukakis is drawing nearer to Bush's vision of the world," the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, which reflects the views of the right-wing flank of the American political spectrum, wrote.

In short, in recent weeks Dukakis has become much, much more conservative. However, compared with him Republican candidate Bush acts from positions which cannot be described as anything but right-wing radical. In this respect, the governor of Massachusetts did not sin against the truth very much when he proclaimed his views to be "closer" to Reagan's than the vice president's.

According to Bush, the "cold war" has still not ended and U.S. national security "grows out of the barrel of a gun." He is very skeptical with regard to the Soviet reforms, considering, unlike Dukakis, that it was not Soviet domestic problems that instigated them but the U.S. "position of strength." It is from this position that the Republican contender also intends—it emerges from his speeches—to do business with us, "without swallowing the bait of utopia." Does this mean an increase in Pentagon expenditures and the deployment of all the latest weapons systems, including, of course, SDI?

Bush's tactics arouse no doubts—he is acting as "Reagan's successor," the candidate of "peace and prosperity," depicting Dukakis as a "unilateral disarmer," a "pacifist," and an "anti-patriot." Hyperbole is, of course, a marketable commodity among U.S. politicians, but we haven't seen such a series of "blows below the belt" here for a long time. There is an explanation for this, however. Dukakis' advisers and instructors are not distinguished by any mildness of opinion or sentimentality—they include former Defense Secretaries J. Schlesinger and D. Rumsfeld, former Senator J. Tower, General B. Scowcroft, Henry Kissinger's former staffer H.

Sonnenfeldt, and E. Armstrong. D. Ross, former director of the National Security Council for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, is the oldest among them.

Of course, Bush has the advantage of White House support, given President Reagan's continued popularity. All this has been set to work for the vice president in quite a concrete way. In particular, Washington columnists suspect that the latest anti-Soviet statements and protests (on Afghanistan and the Krasnoyarsk radar) last week were deliberately incited by the White House in order to reinforce Bush's position in the right-wing camp, which is increasingly regarding him with suspicion, and to help him "distance himself" from Dukakis on military and foreign policy issues. THE WASHINGTON TIMES even believes that Americans will witness before 8 November a return to the days of statements about the "evil empire."

T. Hoopes, director of the Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations, pointed out recently in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Many Western officials feel at ease with confrontation.... They would be simply lost without the image of a major 'enemy'."

This conclusion can easily be viewed in terms of the current U.S. election campaign which has appreciably galvanized all manner of "hawks" who would like to return the world to the "cold war" trenches. Will they succeed?

Paper Assesses Tbilisi USSR-U.S. Forum
PM2709113988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent A. Lyutyy: "We Will Not Be the Same"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The fourth conference of the Soviet and U.S. public has ended.

Compared with the previous three forums, traditionally organized by the Chatauqua Institute, the U.S. science and education center, and the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the present forum—and this opinion was shared by virtually all the participants—was an undoubted step forward in dialogue between our citizens and in people's diplomacy, and it reflected the general improvement in USSR-U.S. relations. As V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the society's presidium, told your PRAVDA correspondent, on the whole the forum participants made sincere efforts to hear each other out and to understand one another better.

Not all went smoothly, of course. Take, for example, the discussion on human rights. The speeches by some U.S. representatives gave the impression that they came to our country with their eyes blindfolded and refused to see the changes that are taking place.

The general tone of the conference was positive. As one U.S. participant noted, perhaps in time some of those now present in Tbilisi will forget the details of the problems raised during the sessions, but the friendly feelings toward Soviet people will remain. And is that not the value of such meetings? During the conference, 120 Americans stayed with Georgian families. The experience was very useful. We will not be the same again, said Sally Campbell, a pensioner, who noted that such contact has enabled her to shake off her prejudices.

The characteristic feature of the Tbilisi conference was the sharply increased activeness at the plenary sessions and the various debates among students. Furthermore, the Soviet participants in the debates plied not only the U.S. representatives but also our experts with questions and occasionally expressed disagreement on particular problems. Socialist pluralism of opinions was quite clearly evident at the conference.

There were several wishes regarding the organization of such forums in the future. The poetess Larisa Vasilyeva was surely right when she said that there wasn't enough discussion of the problems of everyday life, the living soul, and real people. And Bill Perry, a U.S. labor unionist, expressed indignation that among the more than 300 U.S. participants there wasn't a single representative of U.S. labor unions or the black population of the United States (Perry himself came to Tbilisi on his own initiative and at his own expense).

The conference is over. But new Soviet-U.S. social forums are ahead. The dialogue goes on.

'Stealth' Workers Struck by Mysterious Disease
OW2309121288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1330 GMT 22 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] A mysterious disease has struck workers of the U.S. Lockheed plant in Burbank, California. Here, under conditions of extreme secrecy, the Stealth fighter-bomber, which cannot be detected by radar, is being developed.

The symptoms of the disease include loss of memory, numbness, headaches, and body rash. The disease has already struck down 170 people. These people have initiated court action against Lockheed, charging that the firm allows excessive heat in production facilities, that ventilation is poor, and that there is a constant caustic smell in the air.

Since work on the plane is classified, the sick are denied the right to seek the help of a physician or to call on health authorities to check into working conditions. There are suspicions that Lockheed is using a toxic chemical to paint the plane with, the same substance that supposedly prevents radar detection.

USSR-U.S. Seminar Discusses Trade Law

LD2809084588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by V. Mikheyev: "Our Own and Other People's Rights"]

[Text] Mickey Mouse, the Disney cartoon character who has attracted the attention of children and tourists in the old Arbat, clearly has no idea that he is "on the wrong side of the law." Or rather, it did not occur to the artists and photographers resorting to his services that they are encroaching upon the sphere of copyright and breaching the norms of U.S. legislation on protecting intellectual property. You might say: That applies over there in their country, but in the USSR any intellectual assets that appeared in the United States before 1973 are not covered by our law.

"The law states..." At a special seminar in Moscow under the aegis of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, lawyers and representatives of Soviet and U.S. legal services explained to each other what the laws of our two countries say about international trade and economic cooperation.

Essentially, the exchange of opinions and information among the specialists of both states was for purposes of familiarization; this does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes a dialogue that has practical significance. It is no accident that the U.S. delegation included a group of businessmen who are looking closely at the Soviet market and other aspects of potential cooperation.

The business people's talks focused on the contractual and legal base of Soviet-U.S. trade relations. Questions regarding the legal protection of intellectual property and the legal procedures for the creation and activity on USSR territory of joint enterprises with firms from the capitalist countries were analyzed. In turn, the U.S. colleagues went into the subtleties of U.S. legislation in the sphere of entrepreneurial activity and described the peculiarities of U.S. legislative procedures, trade law, and commercial practice.

"This useful information will make it easier to conduct talks and conclude deals," Mikhail Mikhaylovich Nesterov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Contractual and Legal Administration, believes. Commenting for IZVESTIYA on the results of the seminar, he noted that in formulating new legislative acts regulating trade and economic relations, it is necessary to take into account existing Soviet and U.S. commercial practice.

"This area of the law is not standing still," he continued. "There was a great deal that our interlocutors did not know about previously— the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), for example. The provisions of the Law on the Cooperative System, which opened up access to the external market for cooperatives—in this case the parties in international law—aroused heightened interest. We talked for 4 hours about opportunities for business partnerships with Soviet cooperatives. In this case the state does not bear responsibility and does not recognize actions filed by the independent legal entities. The U.S. side fully acknowledges the state's 'immunity' in this question."

"Trade is a by-product of mutual understanding. We have come to share information on very specific questions of commercial practice connected with U.S. legislation. This seminar has as its starting point the decision of the Soviet-U.S. trade commission's 10th session, and therefore it should be examined in a broader context," was how Robert Bramley, leader of the U.S. delegation and main legal adviser for the U.S. Department of Commerce, characterized the meeting.

The internal reforms in the USSR, Scott Campbell, vice president of the Kellogg company, continued, including in the legislative sphere, could help facilitate trade and economic cooperation with the market economy. The legislative system in the USSR should be given its due, however: It is a harmonious and sensible legal system.

Both the U.S. and the Soviet participants in the seminar were united in the opinion that, thanks to these frank discussions, the lawyers of both countries will have a better understanding of the correlation between Soviet and U.S. legislation, which will ultimately give the necessary legal support to trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States.

China

PRC Launches Booster Rocket From Submarine

LD2709190188 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 27 TASS—China successfully launched an experimental booster rocket from a submerged nuclear-powered submarine, XINHUA news agency reported today.

It said that China had designed and manufactured the rocket on its own.

PRC Economist on Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk Speech

LD2709235288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Many prominent figures abroad are continuing to study the new Soviet peace initiatives put forward in Krasnoyarsk. Our correspondent in Beijing, Vladimir Kulikov, requested well-known Chinese economist, Comrade Pu Shan, chairman of the Chinese Society of World Economics, to comment on the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk:

[Begin Pu Shan recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] Comrade Gorbachev's speech is very important and the requisite attention has been paid to it in China. We are now witnessing how common efforts are being undertaken to ensure that Soviet-Chinese relations are developed quickly.

I want to say that relations between our countries have their own, perhaps not always, simple history. I remember our close economic cooperation during the fifties. At that time, Soviet comrades rendered great assistance to our country, for which we Chinese are grateful.

There was a period of deterioration in our relations, and this naturally also led to a break in economic relations. In recent years, the situation has changed. As our relations have normalized, economic relations in the sphere of trade, scientific cooperation, and other spheres began to develop quickly. Here we have achieved significant progress.

Politics and economics are interrelated. I place great hopes on an increase in the level of our political contacts also facilitating an extension of economic relations between our countries, particularly since the processes under way in our states create good prerequisites for this.

In your country, a restructuring of the economic and political system is under way which we are following with unfailing interest. Here in China, reform is continuing. All this increases the opportunities for cooperation.

I will travel to the Soviet Union, to the city of Vladivostok, to meet my colleagues. Here there will be a symposium on questions of security and cooperation among the countries in the Asia-Pacific region, in which representatives of public and scientific circles will take part. I think that an exchange of views and ideas, and the discussion of a wide range of questions, including questions of Soviet-Chinese cooperation, may make their positive contribution to the cause of peace, cooperation, and development in the Asia-Pacific region. [end recording]

Improvement in USSR-PRC Relations Assessed

OW2709122588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Station commentary]

[Text] The news media in various countries continuously comments on Soviet leader Gorbachev's speech at Krasnoyarsk, attaching importance to his call for the full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. Right now, the general public in the Soviet Union is concerned about whether or not the relations between the two great neighboring countries will be further improved and whether or not such relations will reach a level compatible with their responsibilities in world politics. In this connection, our station commentator says the following:

I believe that nobody can deny that the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations will not only benefit the two countries, but will also improve the international climate in the whole world. Thus, I deeply believe that such relations should be further improved. However, the two sides must adopt necessary measures to demonstrate their will, aspirations, and endeavors. In recent years, the two countries have done a great deal toward improving the relations between them. Today, the two countries have maintained contacts in nearly all spheres including political, economic, and cultural contacts. Trade between the two countries is more active than ever before. The volume of bilateral trade has increased by more than five times since the beginning of the eighties.

In his speech at Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev said: There is ever more good will and trust in relations between the two countries. Their profound interest in one another has been resumed and is being filled with new content. I can say that mutual attraction is growing.

It should be pointed out that to strengthen the relations between the Soviet Union and China is an objective requirement. Right now both countries are carrying out reforms in a big way. In order to successively realize its own reform tasks, the Soviet Union is quite interested in China's experience in carrying out its own reform. It proposes that China further expand its economic cooperation with the Soviet Union on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit. In order to achieve this goal, both the Soviet Union and China need a peaceful environment. This is the stand adopted by both countries on the major disarmament issues at the UN Security Council such as the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons and the prevention of militarization in space.

Another issue is the clash in Cambodia. On such a complex issue, both countries have opened dialogue striving to iron out differences and tackle the Cambodian issue impartially and wisely. The Soviet and Chinese deputy foreign ministers held a working meeting in Beijing not long ago on the Cambodia issue. The meeting deepened the mutual understanding between the two countries. Today, the Soviet Union is willing to further develop its relations with China. In his speech at Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev made seven new proposals aimed at strengthening security in Asia. The Soviet Union proposed that the question of lowering military confrontation in the areas where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, and North and South Korea converge be discussed on a multilateral basis. In addition, we also suggested discussing at any level the question of creating a negotiating mechanism to consider Soviet and any other proposals pertaining to the security of the Asia-Pacific region. The discussion could be started between the USSR, the PRC, and the United States as permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Obviously we must fully normalize our relations with China in order to further develop bilateral relations. A meeting between the leaders of the two countries will

become a gigantic motivating force in facilitating such a process of normalization. In view of this, the Soviet Union is willing to make the best use of its time to prepare for this kind of high-level meeting. Soviet leader Gorbachev stressed this point in his Krasnoyarsk speech.

Only those who march forward will reach their destination. I would like to conclude with this popular saying: It should be realized that only by achieving overall development of Soviet-Chinese relations will the peoples of the two countries score even greater achievements in carrying out their reforms and make their own contributions to further improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Commentator Cites Expanding Sino-Soviet Trade
OW2709190588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 24 Sep 88

[(Yebyechev) station commentary]

[Text] Chinese products sell very well in Soviet stores. Customers like their beautiful outward appearance and good quality. What I refer to here is merely light industrial products and food items. The types of products China sells to the Soviet Union are too numerous to count. They include chemical products, mineral raw materials, electric locomotives, railroad car parts and accessories, and batteries. The Soviet Union also exports many kinds of products to China. This year 45 percent of Soviet exports to China are machinery and the means of communications. Soviet assembled plant equipment has been shipped to the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, a thermal power plant in Nanjing, and a few other textile mills. China also buys ferrous metal rolled ingots, petroleum products, timber, and glass from the Soviet Union. The amount of barter trade is estimated at R1.8 billion, but experts believe trade figurs will surpass this number this year. Of course, this depends on the desire of both sides. Both sides have this desire, including the desire to seek new forms of economic and technological cooperation. As you all know, an agreement on developing direct trade, including trade between the border areas and oblasts of the USSR's republics and China's provinces and autonomous regions, was concluded in the summer of last year. The agreement also calls for the formation of a permanent regional and border economic and trade cooperation commission. This will make it possible to increase the volume of barter trade through the utilization of Chinese and Soviet regional resources.

Commerce is the messenger of peace, as the saying goes. This is true in regard to Soviet-Chinese relations, which have undergone ups and downs. The Soviet Union and China are making efforts to expand their business ties in order to further improve their political relations. Regular political consultations, exchange of government delegations, and border trade, and their stand on disarmament and on establishing nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world have gradually brought the Soviet Union and China close together. China admires the Geneva agreement on the Afghan issue, which has opened a way for political solutions to other regional conflicts.

Commerce is a messenger of peace. The Soviet Union hopes to expand trade with China. It believes that the fundamental improvement of bilateral relations between the two countries is in the interest of consolidating and the peace and stability in Asia. Gorbachev said in his speech made at Karasnoyarsk a few days ago: We advocate total normalization of relations with China. We advocate that these relations should be developed to the level that is commensurate with the role of the two countries in the world arena.

Northeast Asia

Justice Ministry Delegation Visits Mongolia

LD2709041688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0310 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Ulaan Baatar, 27 Sep (TASS)—Dumaagiyn Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], today received a Soviet delegation led by Boris Kravtsov, USSR justice minister, which is currently here. During the conversation the importance was noted of the processes of restructuring and renewal of all spheres of public life now taking place in the USSR and MPR, of which an integral part is the further improvement and deepening of the legal foundations of the state. A certain contribution to this will be made by the treaty between the USSR and Mongolia on mutual legal assistance in civil, family, and criminal cases and the protocol on cooperation between the two countries' Justice Ministries, both signed the day before.

The first such treaty between the Soviet Union and Mongolia was signed in 1958 for a term of 30 years. All its provisions have been fulfilled. The new document was drafted under the conditions of deepening of democracy and perfecting of the state based on the rule of law, and it envisages broad cooperation by the justice bodies of the two countries in the field of protecting citizens' rights and liberties. The law protection bodies of the border districts of the USSR and MPR will now be able to deal with each other in conducting civil, family, and criminal cases, bypassing the highest state instances, which will make it possible to reduce the time taken to examine them. The same right is also envisaged for the USSR Supreme Soviet in cases coming under its proceedings.

Japan Urged To Study Gorbachev Proposals

OW2709114288 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Soviet Secretary General Gorbachev recently stated in Krasnoyarsk that Japan's persistent military buildup within the framework of sharing burdens with the United States has instilled fear in the hearts of the Soviet people and of people in other neighboring nations of Japan. In this connection, military commentator Kalinin writes as follows:

Will Japan turn into a big military power? Will the events of the past not be repeated? Today, such concerns are being raised by many people in the world, including people in Asian nations, who have not forgotten the lessons of World War II.

In answer to these questions, Japanese official circles usually say that there is no need for such concern and try to convince the world that Japan's armament is of limited nature and will never exceed the required level. However, we cannot ignore the fact that reality hardly supports the explanation given by Japanese official circles.

Let us take the Self-Defense Forces [SDF] for example. The SDF's strength has doubled since it was formed and its strength now ranks sixth in the world. According to Mr. Nakada, a Japanese military specialist, the Ground Self-Defense Forces [GSDF] alone have a capability which far exceeds the military strength of the entire Imperial Army in World War II. Incidentally, a military specialist in West Germany has published some interesting data. According to him, the waters which separate Japan from its neighbors create a barrier which is equivalent to 50 army divisions. In other words, Japan is provided with a large defensive strength even if the GSDF, which now has 13 army divisions, is reduced to nearly nil.

Nevertheless, Japan's defense plans envisage a further increase in SDF strength, including that of the GSDF. Accomplishment of these plans will inevitably bring about a further increase in military spending. In this connection, let me point out that the Japanese Government has already removed the 1-percent-of-GNP ceiling from its defense spending. As a result, Japan's national defense budget has exceeded this ceiling in the past 2 years. This increase may look small in terms of officially announced figures, but it actually conceals its true proportions. According to a formula used by NATO nations to measure military spending, Japan is actually using 1.7 percent of its GNP for military purposes, making Japan's current military spending the third largest in the world.

It also has to be pointed out that the removal of the ceiling from defense spending has accelerated expansion of military production. For example, Fujitsu's military sales have increased by approximately 60 percent last year. And it is expected that its sales will grow by a rate of 10 percent each year. Moreover, Mitsubushi Heavy Industries plans to double its military sales by 1991. However, it should be noted that military-related production in Japan, even without such an increase, is in fact already fully meeting SDF demands.

This constant and rapid expansion of military-related production leads us to ask what effect the arms thus produced will bring about. There are two possible developments. One is a considerable buildup of the Japanese military, and the other is the abandonment of the restraints on arms exports. It is also entirely possible that these two developments will take place simultaneously.

There is another factor that should not be overlooked when we talk about Japan's military preparations. It is the fact that Japan's armament is not an isolated process but is being carried out within the framework of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. This treaty enables the United States to use Japan as its military base while at the same time further stimulating Japan's militaristic

political tendencies. This latter development is particularly noteworthy because the Japanese Government often pretends as if it cannot but succumb to U.S. pressure in military matters.

However, the truth is that the Japanese Government is using the U.S. pressure as an excuse to justify its military schemes. A good example is Japan's participation in the SDI project. No matter what reason Japan may cite to justify its decision on its participation, Japan obviously plans to elevate its status as a military power through this huge military plan.

All these facts indicate that Japan's armament already exceeded the level necesssary for its self-defense a long time ago. If this situation continues, Japan's armament will acquire an extremely dangerous nature. Consequently, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region will undoubtedly become more complicated and military and political confrontation will intensify. Such a development will certainly not serve Japan's interests.

If the Japanese Government really wants security for Japan and for the Asia-Pacific region, the most realistic approach would be to study the Soviet leader's proposals in Krasnoyarsk without prejudice. If these proposals are realized, regional tension will ease considerably. Moreover, it will undoubtedly improve mutual trust in the region and ultimately lead to the promotion of international security.

In this regard, I would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union does not think that only its proposals are feasible. I am sure that the Asian and Pacific nations, including Japan, can come up with certain plans of their own. The important thing is not to adhere to one single idea or to reject proposals of the opposing side from the outset. This is why Secretary General Gorbachev's proposal, which calls for organizing foreign ministerial talks involving all relevant nations to discuss an inititial approach for establishing new relations in the Asia-Pacific region, seems to be a very realistic step. Japan can play an important role in organizing or convening such talks.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further Reportage on Visit by Lao Prime Minister

Luncheon Held at Kremlin

LD2709150388 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—A luncheon was given in the Grand Kremlin Palace today in honour of Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Laotian party functionaries and statesmen who accompany the guest in his trip were present at the luncheon.

The Soviet side was represented by Mikhail Gorbachev, Andrey Gromyko, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Mikhail Solomentsev, Nikolay Talyzin, Vadim Medvedev, and other officials.

Gorbachev and Phomvihan made speeches at the luncheon. The luncheon passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Gorbachev Speech at Luncheon

PM2809103588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a luncheon for Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, at the Kremlin on 27 September, under the general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Phomvihan!

Comrades, friends,

Less than a year has passed since my last meeting with the respected leader of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]. This period has been marked by important political decisions and major changes in various spheres of the public life of our countries. Considerable changes are taking place in the international arena, too. Hence we have had no shortage of questions worthy of discussion.

Comrade Phomvihan spoke in detail about how developments are now taking shape in Laos and what the LPRP leadership is working on. Soviet Communists have always had a great affection for and feeling of solidarity with the efforts of the Lao Communists and the people of that country to place their motherland on the path of constructing a socialist society. We are sincerely glad that favorable trends have recently been observed in the development of Laos.

All this is only the first result of the course outlined by the Fourth LPRP Congress in November 1986 and elaborated by the January 1988 Plenum of the Central Committee. But it is fundamentally important that life confirm the correctness of the decisions made, and that they meet with the support and approval of the people. This is a good stimulus for advancing with confidence and for carrying out the planned changes with greater resolution.

The experience of our Lao friends speaks once again of how profound and correct is Lenin's vision of the diversity of ways to develop socialism. Together with Comrade

Phomvihan, we have drawn attention to this important factor. Both the lessons of the past and the results of the recent activity of the fraternal parties clearly show that the diversity of methods of development and specific national features by no means shake the fundamental tenet of our theory on the laws of socialist development.

It is far from accidental that, with all the differences in the level of development and the nature of tasks being tackled in both the Soviet Union and Laos, the general direction of the two parties' economic and social policy coincides. To put it briefly, this amounts to focusing on the human factor, overcoming command and administrative methods, and developing democracy in the economic and political life of society.

During the conversation, of course, we discussed Soviet-Lao relations as well. The main conclusion from the discussion of these questions was that the time has now come to restructure the system of cooperation which has emerged.

But this by no means implies a reexamination of those principles which from the outset were laid as the foundation of relations between the Soviet Union and Laos, or, in the broader context, relations with the other developing socialist states. As before, we consider it our duty to render them assistance in developing a viable economy. At the same time, the general view is that we must gradually create an infrastructure of new forms of cooperation, based on mutual interest.

Experience shows that this is an obligatory stage and that if we do not strive for it consciously and purposefully, the moment may come when cooperation loses its proper momentum and begins to mark time. Methods for the development of mutually beneficial links have also been more or less clearly defined. These include the establishment of direct relations of financial autonomy between cooperating enterprises and associations, the establishment of the cooperative system, and the creation of joint enterprises, including ones aimed at entering the world market. The first steps in this direction have already been taken, and we have agreed to give thought to ensuring the creation on both sides of conditions favoring this process.

Problems of the international situation occupied a major position in our conversations. What assessment can be made of this situation at this time? The most correct method, of course, is to identify the main trend. If we recall how events have been developing recently, then probably everyone will agree that in 1987 the situation in the world improved in comparison with 1986, as it did in 1988 in comparison with 1987.

There is reason to hope that 1989 will be better than the present year in this respect. I am saying this based on facts known to everyone, such as the first steps in nuclear disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, and a certain alleviation of confrontation in the world arena as a whole.

At the same time, the present stage is exceedingly complex. We have not yet passed that threshold, that point after which it will be impossible to return to the previous state of hostility, mutual mistrust, and the feverish buildup of military strength. As to the consequences of such a recurrence, they would be catastrophic. Surely no one will be so bold as to claim that mankind can endlessly test its fate. It is quite possible that we are now using one of our last chances to prevent nuclear, ecological, and other calamities threatening the world community.

There are grounds for concern. It is a question not so much and not only about the activity of the extreme right-wing and reactionary forces that do not like the current development. The lack of responsibility for the future, evident in the policy of some of our Western partners, and the desire to make use of the current situation for egoistic interests, paying no heed to the possibly ruinous consequences for international cooperation, are no less—if not more—dangerous.

This is clearly manifested in the development of events surrounding Afghanistan. Together with the Governments of the Republic of Afghanistan, the United States, and Pakistan, agreements were elaborated in Geneva which create the prerequisites for the process of a peaceful settlement. It appears, however, that they have decided in Islamabad, disregarding the will of the Afghan people and the real balance of social and political forces, to use this to install in Kabul a government to their liking. Are the growing supplies to Afghan opposition groups of U.S. weapons, including "Stinger" missiles, which almost weekly kill completely innocent people, including women, children, and old men, not in contravention of the spirit of the Geneva agreements and the interests of a peaceful settlement? All this is very serious and we are right to expect that Pakistan and the United States will come to their senses and refrain from adventurist actions.

The elimination of centers of war, aflame and smoldering, is in the essential interest of all countries, and whoever acts against the demands of the peoples of the world, violating accords, assumes a heavy responsibility before the world community.

It was perfectly understandable that the situation in Southeast Asia and the prospects for a settlement of the Cambodian conflict occupied particular attention at our talks with Comrade Phomvihan. Positive moves have also been observed in this regard. The recent meeting of the four Cambodian sides in Jakarta was a powerful boost to the quest for a political solution to the problem, and it showed how strong the mood is in the countries of the region in favor of peace, goodneighborliness, and cooperation, and how great the desire is to settle the conflict. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we sincerely want to assist the efforts of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos and are making use of contacts with the representatives of the United States, the ASEAN states, and other interested countries. The position of the PRC

is of significant import in unblocking the situation surrounding Cambodia, and we take a positive view of the results of the Soviet-Chinese contacts on this issue.

Settling the Afghan and Cambodian conflicts is an essential condition for ensuring peace, stability, and mutually beneficial cooperation on the Asian Continent. The Delhi declaration of the Soviet Union and India, and the peace-loving initiatives of the socialist states of Indochina have assisted in the activization of this process. The program for peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, which we put forward in Vladivostok, is also directed toward this.

We highly value the energetic, peacemaking activity of fraternal Laos. I have in mind the proposals that it put forward in Jakarta to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and cooperation, free from nuclear weapons. They include a call to the permanent members states of the UN Security Council to respect and guarantee the principles that have been set forth. The Soviet Union gives a positive answer to this appeal. The new Lao initiative, together with the well-known proposals of Vietnam, Cambodia, and the countries of ASEAN concerning the peaceful and nuclear-free status of this region, can serve well the business of turning Asia into a continent of peace and security.

Respected Comrade Phomvihan, respected comrades! I think we can note with satisfaction that as a result of our meeting, the traditionally friendly relations between our two countries will become even stronger and that the development of Soviet-Lao cooperation has been given a new boost. I wish you, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, and the whole Lao people, success, happiness, and prosperity.

Kaysone Phomvihan Visits Mausoleum

LD2809091788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, who is in our country on a working visit, has visited the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausomeum and placed a wreath there. The VIP honored the memory of the founder of the first socialist state in the world with a minute's silence.

Also today, Kaysone Phomvihan laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall. The Lao visitor paid homage to the memory of the immortal feat of the Soviet warriors who saved the world from fascism.

SRV's Vo Chi Cong Continues Visit to Kiev

AU2709134988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "The Visit Continues"]

[Excerpt] "With great emotion we inspected the 'Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45' memorial complex, which perpetuates the immortal exploits of the heroic Soviet people who defeated fascism and defended their Soviet homeland. We are confident that, in continuing the heroic traditions, the Communists and working people of the Ukraine will now achieve new and even greater successes in creative work, in the pursuit of the line laid down by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on restructuring, and will make a worthy contribution to the common struggle for peace all over the world." This was the entry made in the museum's guests of honor book by Vo Chi Cong, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and SRV State Council chairman, who continued his visit to Kiev on 23 September. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Reports on Burma Situation

PM2709143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Situation in Burma. Political Tension Persists"]

[Text] Rangoon, 26 Sep—The Burmese authorities announced today that the situation in the country has stabilized somewhat since the 18 September military coup. The official WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY, the only paper published here, reported that between 70 and 90 percent of all state workers and employees had stopped striking in the Irrawaddy and Tenasserim administrative areas and between 30 and 85 percent of personnel had started work in the Karen and Mon national areas.

But the situation in the country remains complex. During the military authorities' operations to "restore calm and order" in the Burmese capital on Sunday, 12 people were killed. Announcing this today, official Rangoon radio noted that more than 250 of the country's inhabitants have been killed since the 18 September military coup. According to the opposition, however, the number of casualties now exceeds 1,000.

Local sources report that over 1,000 participants in the movement for radical changes in the country's political system were arrested on Sunday in Rangoon, Mandalay, and a number of other Burmese cities.

The streets in the center of Rangoon have barbed-wire barriers across them, and crossroads are controlled by armored cars. Army patrols carefully search and check all passengers traveling in the center of the city.

Rangoon radio reported today that the Burma Socialist Program Party, which has been the ruling and sole legal party in the country for the last 26 years, has changed its name to the National Unity Party. No official explanations of this decision have been given. A few days ago the army leadership also announced that the country would now be called the Union of Burma, rather than the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

'Signs' of Political Stability

BK2809095588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Judging by press agency reports filed from Burma, there are signs of the beginning of political stability. The defense forces continue to take action against those who violate the government decrees, while economic life is being restored in the capital of Rangoon and other towns. Despite many difficulties, small shops have reopened and workers and personnel are returning to work.

Observers note that an outstanding event in recent days has been the decision by the National Democratic United League, which was established by the opposition leaders, to register with the General Elections Commission on 24 September. It will pave the way for the league to participate in the multiparty general elections promised by General Saw Maung's government.

Earlier, Aung San Suu Kyi, former Brigadier General Aung Gyi, and former General Tin U said they could not possibly participate in general elections organized by Gen Saw Maung's government and demanded that an interim government—with no connection to the defense forces—be formed in order for them to participate in elections. Foreign observers said that had the opposition and the government not conceded to each other, their confrontation could have turned into an alarming situation.

The National Democratic League has not yet made a final decision to participate in the general elections. However, the opposition leaders are pleading for a continued struggle through peaceful means. Meanwhile, the military government has pledged that it has no intention of holding on to power for a long time. It is possible that the league may participate in the elections.

According to an AFP report, some of the extremist student leaders want to avoid an armed and (?immediate) struggle against the government. They are willing to wait and see whether the general elections promised by Gen Saw Maung are democratic and free.

Student groups yesterday sent an open letter to Gen Saw Maung, prime minister of the military government, urging the government to stop using weapons against the people and appealing to the defense forces to remain neutral. The students said in their letter that they will cooperate with the armed forces which genuinely serve the people and the state.

Another piece of the latest news is that the Gen Saw Maung government has decided to revive the judicial system that existed before the 1974 state Constitution came into effect. Earlier, laws that gave state power to the Burma Socialist Program Party were revoked. The name of the Lanzin party has also been changed to the National Unity Party. It is still early to say whether the announcement on the change of name indicates a change in the internal organization of the party. However, the steps taken by the political parties show they are making preparations for the elections.

According to some reports, members of Gen Saw Maung's government intend to establish their own party to contest in the elections.

Complications Seen in Cambodian Dialogue

BK2809062588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Commentary by station observer Valentinov]

[Text] UPI has reported from Thailand that the Khmer Rouge plans to recruit 20,000 youth from Cambodian refugee camps in Thailand before the end of this year and that foreign instructors have arrived in Thailand to give training to these new recruits. Our observer, Comrade Valentinov, writes:

The Khmer Rouge leaders plan to pose a serious menace, that is to create a state of hostility in the PRK. It is clear that Pol Pot and his gang will carry out this campaign following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. It is generally known that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will be completed by the end of March 1990 at the latest. The Pol Pot clique's eagerness to muster its forces seems to show that this menace is likely to be carried out long before that, that is at the beginning of next year.

By the end of this year, the number of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia will be reduced by half, that is 50,000 men. Pol Pot and his henchmen know that their time is up. During the meeting in Bogor, the Cambodian factions agreed to prevent Pol Pot's return to power in Cambodia. The process toward a solution to the conflicts in and around Cambodia has started on the basis of this and other agreements.

World public opinion, which has constantly condemned the genocidal Pol Pot regime, fully supports the dialogue of the Cambodian political forces. The dialogue now seems to be gathering momentum. The working group of the four Cambodian factions is to meet in Jakarta in the middle of October in order to discuss the concrete prospects of a solution.

According to some reports, Khieu Samphan, leader of the Khmer Rouge, has claimed that the situation might change after the UN General Assembly discusses the Cambodian problem.

The situation might change. It has been learned that the ASEAN countries have prepared a draft resolution that includes some changes following the Bogor meeting. According to many accounts, this document emphasizes the principle of the Khmer Rouge's non-return to power after a solution is reached. This seems unfavorable to Pol Pot and his henchmen, and they themselves know very well that even if the UN General Assembly approves the resolution with a majority vote, they will not be able to return to power, for no UN member country is prepared to give them military and financial aid. This is why they have placed all their hope in the failure of the settlement.

This time again, Khieu Samphan has done nothing to help. The working group is to meet in Jakarta as planned.

Where is the guarantee that the Khmer Rouge will not use new pretexts to try to avoid taking part in the meeting? Can it be hoped that after signing settlement documents, the Pol Pot clique will not invade Cambodia through the northwestern region? What will happen then?

The Khmer Rouge does not care about its partners in the opposition groups. Has it initiated direct hostility against the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann, which are prepared to accept the political solution? This is just a guess. My opinion is that it is necessary to envisage the possibility of dangerous complications that might jeopardize the Cambodian dialogue.

Near East & South Asia

Defense Minister's Activities in India Reported

Arrives, Opens Talks

LD2609055688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0540 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Delhi, 26 Sep (TASS)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, arrived in Delhi today on an official visit at the invitation of the Indian Government.

At the airport he was met by Indian Defense Minister Krishna Chandra Pant and other officials.

Today, the USSR defense minister was also received by Indian President R. Venkataraman.

Talks began between the defense ministers of the two countries. The sides discussed matters of mutual interest.

Army General D.T. Yazov laid wreaths on the cremation site of Mahatma Gandhi, leader of India's national liberation movement, and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. K.C. Pant gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet guest.

Meets Indian Defense Minister

PM2809122188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Delhi, 27 Sep—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is on an official visit to India, today toured the headquarters of the Western Military District in Chandigarh. He also visited Agra.

That evening talks were held in Delhi between D.T. Yazov and Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant. The sides stated with satisfaction that Soviet-Indian military cooperation continues to develop successfully. It was stressed that this cooperation, like Soviet-Indian ties as a whole, is not aimed against third countries. It not only serves Soviet and Indian interests, but also the interests of strengthening universal peace and international security.

The Soviet defense minister laid a wreath at the site of Indira Gandhi's cremation and visited the Indira Gandhi Memorial the same day.

Dobrynin Receives Indian Home Affairs Minister

LD2109193988 Moscow TASS in Englisn 1638 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Today Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Buta Singh, Indian minister of home affairs, who is currently in the Soviet Union on an unofficial visit.

Mutual confidence was expressed during the meeting that the forthcoming Soviet-Indian summit in New Delhi would become a big step in strengthening the unique friendly cooperation of the two countries and would serve to strengthen universal security.

The Indian minister's attention was drawn to the new Soviet peace initiative which had been put forward in Krasnoyarsk by Mikhail Gorbachev. In India, the minister pointed out, the proposals have been regarded with great approval.

Vlasov Meets Indian Official

BK2309162688 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] The home minister, Mr Buta Singh, currently on a visit to Moscow, has called on the Soviet minister for internal affairs, Mr A.V. Vlasov. They exchanged views on matters of mutual interest, including problems of international drug trafficking.

Mr Buta Singh apprised his counterpart of the problems involved in curbing drug traffic across India's vast land and maritime boundaries. He also reiterated India's concern over external support to terrorists for their antinational activities in Punjab.

Delhi Seminar Discusses Geneva Accords

PM2809084788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent O. Kitsenko: "Who Is Implementing the Agreements?"]

[Text] Delhi, 26 Sep—The problem of restoring peace in Afghanistan can be solved only on the basis of the absolute fulfillment of the Geneva agreements by all their participants. This is the unanimous opinion of the participants in the international seminar "The Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan and Their Implementation," which is being held here.

Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant expressed a high opinion of the Soviet Union's honest fulfillment of its pledges, despite all the provocations. Unfortunately, the minister noted, certain circles are trying to prevent Afghanistan's return to peaceful building and to frustrate fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. India looks on anxiously, he said, as these forces continue to try to impose a government of religious fundamentalists on Afghanistan. He expressed the hope that the people of Afghanistan will be given the chance to decide their own destiny without foreign interference.

At the moment, it has to be said that only my country and the Soviet Union are fulfilling the Geneva agreements, 'Abdurrahim Hatef, chairman of the Afghan National Front Central Council, said. He condemned the actions of the United States and Pakistan, who are continuing to supply the rebels with weapons in contravention of the Geneva agreements.

The Western, above all U.S., media, 'A. Hatef noted, are waging a campaign of disinformation and slander against the Afghan people, distorting the real situation in the country. The national reconciliation policy has the support of the people, he said. More than 50,000 former insurgents have abandoned their weapons and are participating with the rest of the people in the revival of the homeland.

U.S. weapon supplies to the rebels via Pakistan are the biggest obstacle to implementation of the Geneva agreements, British Parliament member Robert Parry said at the seminar.

Najibullah Sends Greetings to Soviet Doctors

LD2709124488 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Tashkent September 27 TASS—"Soviet people have shown themselves in Afghanistan experienced specialists and open-hearted people. Your noble work and courage in battle have won you the love and gratitide of Afghans," Afghan President Najibullah said in a message which was read out at the first convention of Soviet civilian doctors who have worked in Afghanistan as internationalists.

The national convention has opened in Tashkent, capital of the Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan.

"The people of Afghanistan, marching along the path of national reconciliation, have stood and will keep standing on the side of peace, good and justice.

"They will for ever remember the luminous image of the Soviet medical worker who has saved many an internationalist troop and thousands of my compatriots from death and who has cured them of diseases," Najibullah said.

He stressed the disinterested performance of their internationalist duty by Soviet doctors in the difficult conditions of an undeclared war in Afghanistan in the name of service to the great ideals of patriotism, humanism and mercy.

Afghan Prime Minister Cables Gorbachev, Ryzhkov

LD2209152688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1423 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Afghan Prime Minister Sharq has just sent a cable from his aircraft to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. In the cable, Prime Minister Sharq expresses his gratitude to the entire Soviet people and leaders for the warm welcome he received during his visit. Sharq also expresses his confidence that the recent meetings in the Soviet Union will strengthen the traditional relations of fraternity and fruitful cooperation between the two states.

UN Afghan Aid Coordinator Cited on Plans

LD2209222288 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Geneva September 22 TASS—At a news conference in the Geneva Palace of Nations today, Sadruddin Aga Khan, coordinator of U.N. programs for humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan, announced the conclusion of the first stage of work which was entrusted to him and to the staff of his mission under the Geneva accords. An

inspection of the state of affairs locally made it possible to determine in general outline the amount of work and priorities and to establish the necessary contacts.

Overall expenditures for the implementation of the aid program in 1988-1989 are to amount to about 123.5 million dollars. The bulk of the funds will be used to render food aid, to enable refugees to arrange their affairs at the places of permanent residence, to receive medical aid and education.

Aga Khan pointed out that U.N. staff who engage in implementing the aid programs met with full understanding and support of Afghan authorities both central and provincial ones. Among Afghans who return to the places where they lived before are so far mainly those who did not leave their country but sought refuge from war hardships in areas which were controlled by government troops or Soviet garrisons.

In answer to questions, he said the Soviet Union actively cooperates with the United Nations Organisation in the accomplishment of the humanitarian mission and, for its part, has worked out an extensive program for aid to the population of Afghanistan and for rehabilitation of the country's economy.

Missile Attack on Kabul Kills 35, Injures 156

LD2809110188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Kabul, 28 Sep (TASS)—Extremists have carried out another crime against the Afghan people. They launched 21 surface-to-surface missiles on Kabul within 1 hour. One of them exploded in a square in the center of the city not far from a bus stop, killing 35 people and injuring 156 peaceful citizens. Another seven people were injured in other areas. [passage omitted]

Correspondent Describes Difficult Life in Kabul

PM2809070188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "From Dawn to Midnight. Alarming Days in Kabul"]

[Text] The mullahs wake first in Kabul. The roar of transport planes hidden by the darkness from the missiles still fills the sky, the lilac silhouette of Sher Darvazeh has still not appeared in the east against the faint blue of the sky, noiseless flashes of gunfire still rend the darkness over the mountain like summer lightning, and a loudspeaker is already conveying the mullah's shrill, insistent wail from the nearby minaret:

"Allah akbar!.."

The time has come for true believers to go to morning prayer. The man who rises at the mullah's first call is happy all day long.

"I get up before the mullah," Habbibullah, a 19-year old baker, said: "It's my job. By 0300 I have already kneaded the dough and in half an hour the first hundred flat cakes are ready."

Habib's bakery is opposite the Tsement-Khan [name as published] district—a conglomeration of adobe buildings overflowing with poverty—and by around 0600 a line of sleepy kids carrying bundles of white rag is straggling out, drawn by the smell of the bread: In the rags they wrap piles of the hot, tongue-shaped flatcakes—the family's breakfast.

The price has not changed in 8-10 years: 6 afghanis. Only the weight has dwindled. The truth is that before the revolution they cost 2 afghanis and weighed 300 grams. Now they weigh 150-200 grams. It's the war.... However hard the authorities try to control prices, it is difficult to keep them in check. In comparison with last year, I read in a report from the PDPA city committee economics department, the prices of flour, rice, vegetable oil, and mutton—1kg costs 500 afghanis—have risen by 25, 18, 35, and more than 50 percent respectively. The countryside is impoverished and there are supply difficulties: Bandits plunder the highways—there's a war on....

One of the means of combating price increases is to distribute rationed food products through state stores. On my way through the city I saw working people crowded around these stores: The prices there are stable and lower than at the market. Of course, the difference in prices creates conditions for speculation. But this is nothing new to Kabul. Everything can be bought or sold in this ancient trading country. Life's difficulties incite the swollen state apparatus to take bribes—a traditional trade, moreover, for many Afghan officials. Evidently, the scale of this is on the increase.

It is no coincidence that the question of bribes is often raised in collective discussions. Report and discussion meetings are now being held in party organizations throughout the country. They are intended to mobilize people to take a more active part in implementing the national reconciliation policy and in defending the republic and to help strengthen discipline and restore order in the economy. These meetings are voicing sharp, impartial, but just criticism of the authorities. They constitute a kind of ideological school, a form of intraparty debate, and a highly dynamic process. I was told by Daud Razmyar [name as published], secretary of the Kabul PDPA City Committee, that more than 12,000 proposals, opinions, and comments have been voiced in the city party organizations. The results of the discussions will be studied in the various party organizations—from primary organizations to the highest level.

I would not like to abuse the word "glasnost," but this is now also reflected in the Afghan press. The newspapers, above all the PDPA Central Committee organ HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR, are full of critical readers'

letters. And they, too, touch on topics that were previously completely barred. For instance, local authorities' abuses in distributing free Soviet aid to the needy population. An edition of the newspaper revealed the following—a critical signal: In one Kabul region one-third of all goods from the USSR, worth a total of 329,000 afghanis, had been stolen.

...By the beginning of the working day, Kabul's streets are seething like a maelstrom with automobiles—Toyotas, Volkswagens, Volgas, Mercedes, and Zhigulis... Some with loose panels and peeling paint, and new ones with gleaming chrome and polish. I drove to the city hall to see Muhammad Hakim, the mayor or, to be more precise, the chairman of the Council of People's Representatives. En route I recalled some statistics about Kabul.

It is estimated that the city has a population of 1.3 million. In the opinion of older Kabul inhabitants, however, the figure is at least 2 million: People flood into Kabul from the provinces, where the current difficulties give them no peace. A total of 80 percent of the capital's economically active population are employed in the services sphere—small-scale trade, hotels, restaurants, laundries, and hairdressers. And 8.2 percent are employed in industry. The rest are employed in transport and communications, construction, and agriculture. A total of 65 percent of men are literate and barely one-third of women—a higher figure than the mean for the country. What about living conditions? More than 70 percent of Kabul's inhabitants live in adobe huts and only 38 percent have fresh running water.

"There are many problems in the city," M. Hakim said. "Housing construction capacities are poor—people are involved in illegal independent construction, and they take over land where no roads have been laid and where there is no water. Kabul needs greenery, and we cannot get by without irrigation canals: The parks would dry up. The street lighting network is undeveloped."

But the mayor has many plans. He pins great hopes on involving private capital in providing Kabul with amenities. A sensible policy is needed here. Previously, Hakim said, we arranged auctions to sell land for development and we inflated prices: This took all of a private operator's money, and not many were willing to construct anything major in the center. Now we are setting relatively small payments for lots. We have development plans for Kabul's center. I think that the private sector will now be more willing to invest money in this prestigious business.

The municipality's plans are maintained by something else—the direct ties between Kabul and Moscow, on which an agreement is being successfully implemented. I will not undertake to list everything that the Moscow Gorispolkom has given the Afghan side: highway equipment, medical equipment, school furniture.... One example of this is staring us in the face.

More than 300 new Soviet traffic lights have been put up in the city—Moscow and Tashkent donated them. Now even a complex intersection like Malek Azgar [name as published], where there is congestion at any time of the day, is regulated by traffic signals. The Moscow Gorispolkom has sent specialists experienced in organizing traffic movement and using flashing light equipment. They have calculated traffic flows, set up equipment, and at the same time instructed the Afghans.

However, the opportunity to cross the street safely is not the main component of security in a country rent by fratricidal war. In July Kabul was bombarded 10 times by bandit "RS's" [rocket-propelled shells]. The same thing happened 15 times in August. Although September is not over yet, the figure is already level with the August count. The people of Kabul mourn the casualties—totally innocent people die with every bombardment and every explosion of a mine planted by the terrorists. The September dead include 13 children and 9 women.

In Kabul you can feel how seriously complicated and exacerbated the situation in the country is becoming. The main source of this process is the efforts of the "irreconcilable" opposition and the interference from Pakistan, which is not fulfilling the Geneva agreements. Here are just a few lines describing the preliminary results of this subversive activity in the 4 months since the agreements entered into force. A total of 52 convoys have been sent from Pakistan carrying weapons and supplies. According to data from competent organs, 18,000 specially trained fighters have been sent from Pakistan and Iran into Afghan territory. The overall strength of armed opposition detachments operating on the country's territory totals 168,000 men. True, only around 70,000 of them are active. The rebels have managed to capture 16 districts and Bamian Province. Out of 31 provincial centers, the state government has full control of 24 plus the district center of Khowst; it has only partial control of the rest.

Kabul reflects the development of the situation throughout the country. Events in Konduz, which was captured for a few days by extremists, sounded the alarm. All the problems and miscalculations that are weakening the state government were focused there. The supporters of national reconciliation are drawing their conclusions from this. For instance, I saw armed party members—"soldiers of the revolution"—at many city security posts. They have replaced militia fighters sent to strengthen the capital's defense zone. Steps are being taken to consolidate other combat formations—the guards and the self-defense groups.

Night is drawing on and the streets of Kabul are deserted.

"Dresh", a desperate shout roared from out of the darkness at the approaching car.

"Halt!"—this is the way the Afghan patrol has been instructed to issue commands in order to intimidate the enemy.

In the glow of the lights I saw a submachinegun at pointblank range. Without wasting a second I responded in Russian. I got out of the car.

Recognizing a Soviet, Private Mirza Gul asked for a light for himself and his pal. I struck up a conversation in the darkness. The patrolman said that his family—his wife and 6-month old son—lived on the outskirts of Kabul. Once a week he is given a day's leave to see them. He has graduated from school and has served as a volunteer in the province. He spent 6 months in a dushman jail. He escaped. And he was wounded. He joined the PDPA a month ago. What does he think about at nights? His wife and son. He is sick of thinking about the war: We are ready to compromise for the sake of peace, he says. If no reconciliation is achieved, then we have weapons in our hands...

Mirza Gul did not have long to go until dawn, until the mullah's morning call, until his relief came. The night unsettles him: The city will be quite different under a blue morning sky. Now it is covered by a black canopy, filled with bugs that hum like motors. The monotonous murmuring is occasionally interrupted by the dull thudding of nearby guns.

Accusations of Afghan Airspace Violations Denied

PM2809100588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Campaign of False Accusations"]

[Text] As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Foreign Ministry, the propaganda campaign accusing Afghanistan of violating Pakistani airspace and bombing Pakistani territory continues in the Western media.

Such "accusations" were made 3, 5, 7, and 12 September without any proof being provided. On 23 September the "France Inter" radio station, without citing any sources, reported a raid on two population centers in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, as a result of which allegedly five people died and six peaceful inhabitants were wounded. VOA repeated this "information" 24 September. The report of the raid was denied by Major General 'Abdul Fatah Rakhimi, commander of the Afghan Air Force, who indicated that Afghan aircraft neither on purpose nor by accident violated Pakistani airspace 23 September.

It is quite obvious that the campaign of false accusations that Afghanistan is violating Pakistani airspace at a time when the 43d UN General Assembly session, which has on its agenda the so-called "Afghan question," is beginning its work in New York is well coordinated and, according to its organizers' plan, is obviously meant to serve as a propaganda screen for a further escalation of aggressive actions by Pakistan against Afghanistan.

Pakistan Conducting 'Propaganda Campaign'

PM2709121988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Ye. Bay under the "Pertinent Notes" rubric: "Dragging It Into Confrontation"]

[Text] Four times since the beginning of September the Islamabad authorities have issued statements accusing Kabul of using Afghan combat aircraft to violate Pakistan's airspace and of bombing its territory. Twice Islamabad has claimed that its air forces have shot down Afghan aircraft. But the news agencies recently reported a statement that serves as a fitting illustration of these increasingly frequent demarches. The Pakistani authorities, the statement says, have instructed the rebel gangs operating on Afghan territory to collect fragments of the Afghan Air Force aircraft that have been shot down and send them to Pakistan. In the absence of genuine proof the "evidence" collected will serve the propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting Kabul's policy.

Why has this campaign begun to gather momentum now? After the Soviet Union's completion of the first stage of the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, various detachments of the armed opposition, both those operating within the country and those based on Pakistani territory, switched to more active combat operations. The rebels' so-called "field commanders" within Afghanistan decided to demonstrate their ability to establish control over vast regions of the country and to seize and keep large administrative centers. And the leaders of the Peshawar "intransigents" have been pushed onto the path of escalating their acts of terrorism by the desire to confirm their claims to the role of makers of the country's fate.

The expansion of hostilities has, as before, brought only new casualties for the civilian population of Afghanistan. Events in Konduz and other cities in the north of the republic and the armed confrontation which has been continuing for several weeks now in Qandahar, in south Afghanistan, show that the opposition has no forces to break the resistance of the government troops' garrisons around the major cities or to hold smaller population centers for long.

And since the second half of August there has been a sharp increase in the number of "caravans of terror" advancing from Peshawar toward Kabul—trucks loaded with dynamite and plastic explosive, strings of mules hauling a lethal load in the form of antiaircraft missiles, modern mortars, and rockets. Pakistan, which has signed the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, has not only not fulfilled a single point of the agreements over the past months but has, on the contrary, drastically activated its interference in the affairs of the neighboring country.

And what of the United States, which is one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords? THE WASHINGTON POST writes that in May this year, when the USSR had set about withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan, "a major change occurred in U.S. policy." It turns out that the bulk of military shipments are now sent straight to the armed gangs operating in Afghanistan itself. (They used to be sent to the Ziaul Haq regime which itself distributed them among the armed opposition detachments—Ye.B.) But that is only one aspect of the United States' "new policy" with regard to the Afghan conflict. The other part of this policy is pushing Pakistan toward open confrontation with the neighboring country.

Throughout the period since the start of the Soviet troops' withdrawal the Afghan Government has been especially perturbed by the growing participation of the Pakistani tribal formations, the malishi [as published] in military operations against the Afghan Government army. During a number of rebel attacks on cities bordering on Pakistani, the Pakistani Armed Forces' heavy artillery has been used. The number of Pakistani advisers operating in the bandit formations on Afghan territory has also increased.

Islamabad's present provocative statements about alleged "violations of its airspace" are a new link in this chain. They can only be assessed as the preparation of public opinion for the Pakistani Air Force's possible strikes against targets on Afghan territory, which would essentially mean the start of direct armed operations.

The U.S. Government—a guarantor of the Geneva agreements—is not only impeding this line of the Pakistani authorities but, on the contrary, is pushing them onto the path of confrontation, evidently figuring that as hostilities build up a situation may arise in which the USSR would be obliged to leave its troops in Afghanistan after February 1989.

The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have become a kind of litmus paper determining the true nature of various sides' attitudes and not only with regard to Afghanistan. If the Afghan problem were to be unblocked through joint efforts, this would be a unique example of cooperation between the two great powers in the interests of the peoples of the two Asian countries and the whole world. Unfortunately, this is not happening. Pakistan's fueling of tension on the border with Afghanistan, taking place on direct instructions from the United States, Islamabad's preparation of public opinion for some act of revenge for "the violation of airspace," and the reluctance to create a joint Afghan-Pakistani commission for investigating the facts contained in Islamabad's statements attest that, counter to common sense, Pakistan is getting stuck deeper and deeper in the swamp of overt military confrontation, which threatens unforeseen consequences to the peoples of the entire region.

U.S., Pakistan Reject Afghan Signatories Meeting

LD2709145288 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The United States Department of State has announced that it doesn't find it necessary to hold a meeting between signatories to the Geneva accords on a settlement in Afghanistan. Several days ago the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, called for a conference between the American, Soviet, Pakistani, and Afghan foreign ministers, to be attended by an envoy of the United Nations secretary general. Aleksandr Pogodin comments, and writes:

This proposal was initially advanced by Kabul. Its goal is to discuss the disquieting and complicated situation in and around Afghanistan. Neither Washington nor Islamabad deny that the situation has aggravated, though they try to blame Afghanistan for this, charging it with violating the Geneva accords. One would think that under the circumstances the signatories to the accords and their guarantors should gather to a review of the situation and discuss their claims to each other.

This would be conducive to surmounting the obstacles lying on the path of implementing the Geneva accords. But the United States Department of State rejected this idea. There could be only one explanation for this negative stance. The United States Administration evidently has no intention of honoring its commitments connected with the role of a guarantor. So far it has done nothing to exert pressure on Pakistan, which also failed to comply with its commitment under the Geneva accords. Moreover, the United States Government is pushing the Pakistani authorities towards increasing their interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, towards heightening confrontation with Kabul.

In the meantime, direct American arms shipments to the armed opposition units in Afghan territory are expanding. On Monday, the Department of State confirmed that it had appointed a special envoy to the headquarters of Afghan rebels, located in Pakistan, and this is indicative.

It seems that Washington is banking on creating a situation under which the Soviet Union and Afghanistan would be forced to take retaliatory steps on inducing the Soviet Union to suspend the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. This policy is fraught with the greatest consequences for the entire region involved in the conflict.

Pakistan Weapons Supply to Afghan Rebels Scored

PM2709145988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "International Notes": "What Are They Seeking?"]

[Text] According to reports from Afghanistan, armed opposition detachments operating in the country have begun taking delivery of rocket launch simulators. These

are powerful pulsed light sources set up to work for a certain time with the help of relays. The question arises: Why was it necessary to supply the rebels with such simulators if they are already being supplied with large consignments of real rockets that they use to shell cities and settlements? The answer to this question may be found in the instructions issued to the rebels. It turns out that the simulators are to be sited next to population centers, national economic projects, and posts in the regulated [rezhimnyy] security zones for the purpose of provoking Afghan and Soviet artillery strikes against them.

Such a report, like many others, attests that the extremists are trying to substantially step up their terrorist activity in Afghanistan, as a result of which the peaceful population above all is dying. In this they rely on the tremendous support Pakistan gives the rebels in gross violation of the Geneva agreements. And yet the attitude toward these agreements serves as a kind of touchstone to verify who advocates the lessening of tension and the normalization of the situation merely in words and who does so concretely, in practice.

From this viewpoint the positions both of Islamabad, which is obliged to fulfill the Geneva agreements, and of Washington as the guarantor of such fulfillment are very vulnerable to criticism. Thus, approximately 200 training centers and camps for training extremists before infiltrating them into Afghanistan are still operating on Pakistani territory. Moreover, new such bases have recently appeared in the Peshawar region. New ammunition and weapons dumps have also been created there, which are then forwarded deep into Afghanistan, as a rule with the help of the Pakistani authorities. Incidentally, it was precisely this route into Afghanistan that was taken by the aforementioned rocket launch simulators.

Before the signing of the Geneva agreements the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was the chief obstacle to Pakistani interference in Afghan affairs. However, even now that the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan are efficiently fulfilling the pledges they adopted in Geneva—the first stage of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops has been completed and conditions have been created for refugees to return to the motherland—Islamabad is continuing to interfere in that country's internal affairs. In addition, it has recently mounted an active slander campaign against Afghanistan alleging that shelling of Pakistani territory and violations of Pakistani airspace by Afghan military aircraft have taken place and are continuing. It is significant that this ballyhoo raised by Islamabad was at once picked up also by the Western mass media, despite Kabul's most resolute denials.

Both the extremely sharp tone of the anti-Afghan statements and the West's hurried compulsive support for them make us think that tension on the Afghan-Pakistani border is being deliberately fueled. The impression is created that Pakistan is using allegations of some "Afghan bombing raids" to prepare a pretext for its own Air Force to make a "counter" strike on Afghan territory. It seems to me that there is nothing vastly unusual about such an assumption. Particularly if you take account of the fact that Washington, which has already resorted repeatedly in practice to such "counter" measures, is Islamabad's ally in the anti-Afghan campaign.

The impression is also formed that Islamabad and those who back it are interested in creating a situation in which the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan would have to suspend the Soviet troop withdrawal from the country. They are seeking to do this in order to wreck the policy of national reconciliation being implemented by the Afghan Government and, most importantly, to preserve the hotbed of tension in this part of Asia.

As the joint announcement on the official friendly visit to the USSR of M.H. Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, emphasizes, the Soviet and Afghan sides continue to proceed from the need for all the participants to abide strictly by the Geneva agreements. At the same time they believe that Pakistan's obstructionist line renders unstable the balance of interests that forms the basis of the Geneva accords and jeopardizes the implementation of the package of compromise solutions reached in Geneva for the sake of peacefully resolving the external aspects of the Afghan problem.

However, the USSR and Afghanistan retain the hope that all the opportunities for exerting the necessary influence on Pakistan to make the new Pakistani leadership aware of its entire responsibility and draw the necessary practical conclusions have not yet been exhausted. They expect corresponding efforts to be made by the United States as the guarantor of the Geneva agreements and by all states and public forces with an interest in the establishment of peace on Afghan soil.

Pakistani Troops Involved in Afghan Combat

LD2709125488 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 27 TASS—Western mass media keep accusing the Republic of Afghanistan of having violated Pakistani air space and bombed Pakistani territory.

Quite obviously, the charges are timed for the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly opening in New York and should serve, as the stage-managers of the campaign see it, as a propaganda cover for Pakistan's continued escalation of aggressive activities against Afghanistan.

Early in September, BAKHTAR news agency reported, 250 Pakistani servicemen in civilian clothes sneaked into Afghan territory in the area of Chamkani District in Paktia Province.

Armed with Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and heavy weapons, they intended to take part in combat operations along with extremists operating in the area.

Thanks to decisive action by Afghan regular army units, however, they were expelled from the province.

According to available data, Pakistani troops are acting as instructors in extremists' rocket attacks on Afghan cities.

This attests to escalating Pakistani interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan and to direct participation by Pakistani servicemen in combat activities on the side of Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

BAKHTAR reported from Nangarhar Province that a group of extremists has been routed in Rudat District [placename as received]. The group's leader was taken prisoner, while six of its members were killed.

Former Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Yusuf, in the meantime, has said in Washington that the "interim government" proclaimed by the "Alliance of the Seven" is absolutely unacceptable to the Afghan people.

BAKHTAR quoted him as saying that even other opposition members, including those inside Afghanistan, objected to the move by "the Peshawar Seven".

Syrian Solidarity Delegation Ends Visit

LD2509144188 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—A delegation of Syria's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was staying in the USSR on September 18-25 at the invitation of the Soviet-Asian Solidarity Committee. It was led by A. Jdeya [name as received], first secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in Dayr al-Zawr and deputy of Syrian Parliament.

The Syrian guests held meeting and conversations at the CPSU Moscow Committee, in the solidarity committee, at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. They made a tour of Azerbaijan.

During the conversations representatives of the Soviet and Syrian public exchanged views on the prospects for the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and stressed special importance of the role of mass democratic organisations in the struggle for world peace and security at the present time. The firm intention of the public of the two countries was confirmed to make active contribution to developing fruitful Soviet-Syrian cooperation, to achieving a truly just, lasting and all-embracing settlement in the Middle East, to rendering all-round support for the struggle of Palestinian people for their rights.

The guests from Syria displayed great interest in the process of perestroyka in the USSR, in the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and their practical implementation.

Kamalidenov Meets With PLO's Darwish

LD2709141088 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Zakash Kamalidenov, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received today M. Darwish, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, winner of the International Lenin Prize "for the strengthening of peace between nations". He is staying in the USSR at the head of the delegation of Palestinian cultural figures.

They had a friendly conversation on the problems pertaining to the Middle Eastern situation. It was noted that the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis with the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the interests of the Arab people of Palestine, can be the only just solution of the problem. The Soviet Union always supported and supports its striving to create an independent state. The right to self-determination is the inalienable right of each nation, the participants in the talk stressed.

The conversation was attended by Nabil 'Umar, PLO representative in the USSR.

U.S. Coverage of Palestinian Uprising Criticized

LD2709231888 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The American CBS Television network begins its newscast certainly with the election campaign in the United States. Then comes world news and only in the end of it there is a small report that two Palestinians were killed and 67 injured in clashes with Israeli troops during the ongoing Palestinian uprising. I cite here yesterday's evening news broadcast.

When the case in point is a threat to the life of even a single American wherever he is, it draws splashy headlines in newspapers and concern of announcers on television screens. The report about the death of Palestinians can hardly create front-page headlines in the United States. In actual fact, September 26 has witnessed the heaviest bloodshed in the Tel Aviv-occupied Arab lands since the mass uprising of the Palestinians broke out in December last year. All settlements of the occupied territories are swept by the general strike to protest the inhuman conditions for the inmates in the Israeli Ansar-3 concentration camp in the Negev Desert, reports that have just come in here say. More than two thousand

Arab patriots are kept there without charge or trial. It has been learnt that during the recent unrest among the inmates who were indignant over the harsh treatment by the prison administration, the camp guard shot dead several people.

So, here is a new crime which was broadcast by the CBS in passing. It shows that the invaders toughen their reprisals. They stake on force only. They stubbornly employ the method of harsh reprisals in a bid to stop or at least slow down the momentum of the general uprising.

In Tel Aviv they would like to perpetuate, if possible, the dramatic situation that has formed in Arab territories, to make occupation "customary" for Arabs. To this end they developed plans of replacing the civilian administration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with the military. Thus, martial law regulations would have been clamped on the occupied Arab territories already formally with all the ensuing tragic consequences for the Arab peaceful population.

But who and when succeeded in quelling the wrathful protest of the whole people? Their key demand is actually one—an end to the Israeli occupation and granting the Palestinians the right to political self-determination, the creation at long last of an independent state. So, invaders get nervous over their own impotence.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Status of Quadripartite Talks on Namibia Viewed

PM2809100188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS reports plus unattributed commentary under general heading "In Search of a Just Solution. Talks on Southwest Africa Under Way in Brazzaville"; last two paragraphs are unattributed commentary]

[Text] Brazzaville, 27 Sep—The complex of problems linked with granting independence to Namibia and ensuring the security of Angola is being discussed at the seventh round of quadrapartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States that began in the Congolese capital Monday to settle the situation in the southwest of Africa. As at the previous meeting, which took place here 7 through 9 September, the delegations are headed by Antonio dos Santos Franca, Angolan first deputy defense minister; Carlos Escalante Aldana, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Secretariat; Neil van Heerden, general director of the RSA Foreign Ministry; and Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

On the first day of the talks, C. Crocker had separate meetings with the Cuban and Angolan representatives and also with the RSA delegation. In particular, the question of a schedule for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was examined.

At a news conference for journalists N. van Heerden, leader of the RSA delegation, affirmed that the RSA is ready to withdraw its troops from Namibia by 1 November this year and to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435, which expounds a plan for granting independence to the occupied territory. According to him, the RSA assured UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar of this on the latter's visit to Pretoria last week.

Luanda, 27 Sep—If the participants in the quadrapartite talks under way in Brazzaville for a peaceful settlement of the situation in the southwest of Africa succeed in securing an agreement, Angola will finally obtain peace, which it has not known in all its years of independence, and Namibia—illegally occupied by the RSA—will be liberated, an Angolan ANGOP commentary points out.

However, anxiety is caused by the fact that Pretoria's rulers are trying to link their fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435 with the convocation of a so-called "conference on national reconciliation" involving all Namibia's political parties, including the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO]. The SWAPO leadership has rejected the idea of such a conference, seeing it as a political ruse aimed at impeding the holding of free democratic elections in the country, ANGOP writes.

The agency points out that the elaboration of a schedule for the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists from Angola is a matter for Angola and Cuba alone. The Angolan and Cuban Governments, which have always shown flexibility and readiness to seek just peaceful solutions to the conflict in the southwest of Africa, will present their proposals on this question at the present meeting in Brazzaville.

Cairo, 27 Sep—The world public is indignant at the South African racists' tyranny on Namibian territory, an AAPSO Permanent Secretariat statement circulated here says.

The document says that the RSA hopes to create an atmosphere of fear and tension in Namibia using terror. This policy can only be viewed as an open challenge to the international community. It fundamentally contravenes the spirit of justice and democracy needed to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435. The peoples of Asia and Africa confirm their immutable solidarity with SWAPO and demand that the RSA authorities cease their provocative actions, the statement stresses.

"Postscript to Dispatch" [subhead]

Despite the talks that are under way and the RSA statements on its readiness to withdraw its troops from Namibia by 1 November, the South African security forces are stepping up the terror in the areas of this country under their occupation. RSA troop units recently withdrawn from Angola are taking part in

punitive actions, especially in the north of Namibia. Reports have just come in of carnage carried out by the occupiers in the northern Namibian city of Otavi. After RSA secret police agents provoked street disturbances in the city, the police and soldiers opened fire on the unarmed inhabitants. At least two men were wounded. A SWAPO spokesman described this attack as a "barbaric act."

The campaign of intimidation carried out by the RSA against the Namibian population is clearly calculated to reinforce the positions of RSA proteges in this country on the eve of the political settlement under discussion at the quadrapartite talks.

East Europe

GDR's Erich Honecker Arrives on Moscow Visit

Greeted by Slyunkov

LD2709175788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Moscow today for a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He was met at the airport by Comrade Slyunkov, by Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by other officials. The USSR welcomes the arrival of Erich Honecker in Moscow. This was stated today at the briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists by Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As we have already reported, Erich Honecker has arrived in Moscow.

The agenda of the visit, which will end on 29 September, envisages meetings and talks between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Tours Exhibition With Gorbachev

LD2809092288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, toured the GDR national exhibition in Moscow today. Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Yakovlev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Talyzin, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Medvedev, Kapitonov, and other officials visited the exhibition. An inspection was made of the exhibits, whose sections reflect the development of all spheres of the GDR's national economy and progress with regard to social policy.

One hundred and fifty combines and 38 trading enterprises from the GDR are demonstrating here all the diversity of the results of the people's labor that have been achieved under the SED's leadership. The exhibition gives a comprehensive idea of how the major national economic problems are being resolved in the fraternal country, from production of consumer goods to development of the most progressive technologies, microelectronics, space technology, and new types of materials. There is a wide range of computer equipment and the latest systems for controlling highly complex technological processes.

The GDR national exhibition reflects the aspirations to the highest technical results, combined with a high level of economic efficiency, and shows clearly the promising directions of scientific and technical development. Many exhibits are the result of direct cooperation between labor collectives, scientists, specialists, and workers of the USSR and GDR. On the basis of various agreements, contracts, and contacts, mutually beneficial cooperation is developing and the sense of unity and cohesion is increasing.

During the inspection of the exhibition there was discussion of a qualitatively new level of scientific and technical and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, and of the important role of socialist economic integration in the fraternal countries' accelerating progress in priority areas of scientific and technical progress.

Gorbachev, Honecker Open Talks

LD2809092388 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, began talks in the Kremlin today with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic who arrived in Moscow on a working visit yesterday.

They are discussing a wide range of issues relating to bilateral fraternal cooperation, prospects for further consolidating relations between the two parties, countries and peoples, and pressing international problems.

PZPR Plenum Backs Rakowski for Prime Minister

PM2809105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Sep—The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum was held here today. The resolution points out that the plenum approved the account presented by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary W.

Jaruzelski of the party Central Committee Politburo's activity in preparation for the upcoming Sejm sessions during which the new Polish Government will be formed.

Taking note of the position of the Central Commission for PZPR, United Peasant Party, and Democratic Party Cooperation and of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth All-Polish Council Executive Committee Presidium, the plenum instructed the PZPR Deputies' Club in the Sejm to back M. Rakowski at the Polish parliamentary session as candidate for the post of Polish Council of Ministers chairman.

The Central Committee expressed gratitude to Z. Messner for his selfless work as Polish Council of Ministers chairman.

Shestopalov Attends Bulgarian Attache Reception

PM2709140588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Anniversary Celebration"]

[Text] On 23 September Rear Admiral I. Nikolov, military, naval, and air force attache to the Bulgarian Embassy in the USSR, organized a reception to mark Bulgarian People's Army Day. The reception was attended by Marshal of Engineering Troops N.F. Shestopalov, USSR deputy defense minister, and generals, admirals, and officers from the Soviet Armed Forces.

Those invited also included military, naval, and air force attaches from the embassies of a number of foreign states in the Soviet Union.

G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, was also present.

LCY Presidium Debates Economic Problems

PM2709145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthen the Economy"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep—Topical questions of the implementation of the planned economic policy have been discussed at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium held here.

Noting the unfavorable trends in the development of the country's economy, M. Renovica, keynote speaker and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated that this threatens the solution of the current and long-term tasks of curbing inflation and pursuing a policy of economic stabilization and slows down the economic reform. Some positive results in exports, in safeguarding foreign currency reserves, and in foreign currency earnings from tourism, he noted, cannot ensure a fundamental breakthrough in the struggle against inflation and revive production and increase the economy's capacity for structural changes.

The way that economic processes are developing points to the need for the federation, the republics, the autonomous provinces, and labor collectives to take urgent measures to stimulate production and support exports so as to rapidly halt the trend toward the decline of industrial production and to curb inflation, which is creating great difficulties.

S. Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who addressed the session, noted the great importance of reducing all administrative expenditure and providing incentives for production. It is necessary to take greater account of the real problems that exist and the demands that are being made, he said, and at the same time not to deviate from the decisions of the recent LCY conference.

West Europe

Gorbachev Sends Message to Greek Prime Minister

LD2309135588 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent a message to Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, chairman of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), in reply to the personal message by the head of the Greek Government, which was handed over to the Soviet leader by the PASOK delegation which visited Moscow.

Central Committee Greets Veteran UK Communist

PM2709152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee birthday greetings message to British Communist Andrew Rothstein]

[Text] To Comrade Andrew Rothstein, veteran of the British Communist movement

Dear Friend,

The CPSU Central Committee sends you, a renowned veteran and one of the founders of the British Communist Party, most sincere and cordial congratulations on your 90th birthday.

You have behind you an impressive life as a Communist internationalist. You have deservedly earned the profound respect and affection of Soviet working people for your active and selfless participation in developing and strengthening the friendship between the Communists and peoples of the USSR and Britain.

We wish you good health, optimism, and confidence in the success of our common cause.

With fraternal greetings,

CPSU Central Committee

Author Graham Greene Recalls Kim Philby
PM2709144988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with writer Graham Greene by IZVESTIYA own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko under the rubric "Conversations With Interesting People": "At Graham Greene's Place in Antibes"; date not given]

[Excerpts] Antibes-Paris—From the wide-open windows there was a view over the port, dominated by a squat fortress built from gray stone.

Once again I was Graham Greene's guest in his small apartment on Avenue Pasteur in the Mediterranean city of Antibes. [passage omitted]

[Kovalenko] You knew Kim Philby well, you corresponded with him, and you met him in Moscow not long before his death...

[Greene] Yes, I worked with Kim during World War II in MI5, British counterintelligence. I spent about 3 years there. At first I was sent to Sierra Leone, and then I returned to London and ended up in the department headed by Philby, which dealt with counterintelligence in Spain and Portugal. At that time I thought he was motivated by personal ambition. He was trying to get ahead of others on the career ladder. He got me promoted together with him. But all this bored me and I resigned. However, we remained good friends. Of course I knew that Kim, like myself, held left-wing views, but I did not know he was working for the Soviet Union. If I had found out? I would have advised him to leave Britain within 24 hours. I began to feel even more sympathy toward him when I realized he was not motivated by personal ambitions, but by his own ideal to which he was devoted. I wrote the foreword to his book "My Secret War," it was friendly in character, and, clearly, it shocked those in Britain who believed he was a traitor. But his motives stemmed from his convictions. The foreword was included in my selected works, along with other essays on politicians, including Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro. During our last meeting in Moscow, which we did not conceal, we walked around the city, looked at a picture exhibition, and dined at the Writers' House. [passage omitted]

Foreign Policy Planning Talks Held in Paris
LD2409165988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1504 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Paris, 23 Sep (TASS)—Routine Soviet-French consultations on issues of foreign policy planning have taken place here. The consultations embraced a wide range of European and world problems in terms of their development and the prospects for the evolution of the situation in the context of the new political thinking.

The consultations were conducted on the Soviet side by L.I. Mendelevich, member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium and chief of the Evaluation and Planning Directorate at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, and on the French side by Philippe Coste, chief of the Analysis and Forecasting Center at the French Foreign Ministry.

The Soviet representatives also held meetings with diplomatic advisers of the French president, prime minister, and defense minister.

Substantive conversations took place at the National Defense Foundation and the French Institute of International Relations. The consultations confirmed the mutual interest of the two sides for continuous in-depth diplomatic contacts.

Events in 1939-40 Soviet-Finnish War Described
PM2709132388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 39, 24-30 Sep (Signed to Press 22 Sep 88) pp 5, 6

[V. Petrov article in response to readers' question: "There Was Such a War"—first paragraph is readers' query]

[Text] Nowadays young people know little about the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940. Why did it arise and how did it end? A. Ostanina, Chelyabinsk, M. Babayev, Saratov, and N. Dyatlov, Cheremkhovo.

Soviet-Finnish relations are now a convincing example of the vitality and successfulness of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

However, this was not always the case. It is well known that these relations went through complex and difficult ordeals, notably during the thirties.

During the thirties, Finland's foreign policy concept was based on its ruling circles' class enmity toward the first socialist state and their consequent commitment to eliminating Soviet power in the USSR. There were also people in these circles who supported a realistic attitude toward the Soviet Union (based above all on a correct interpretation of the national interests of Finland itself), but they were never in the majority and thus did not dare to express their views openly. Official propaganda viewed the Soviet Union as a hostile state with which

Finland should do battle, including by participation in a war against it, and the Finns as the people predestined to be "defenders of peace in the West." That is why, despite individual positive elements in Finland's foreign policy, its overall line remained unchanged and pointed—to use O. Kuusinen's graphic expression—"like a compass needle points north toward those states and governments which at the stage in question occupied a hostile stance toward the USSR."

Moreover, interventionist plans were not alien to Finland's influential political forces. No neighboring country mounted such an overt propaganda campaign to seize the Soviet Union's territories as did Finland. The Finnish Army officer's oath ended with the words: "Just as I believe in one God, I believe in Greater Finland and its great future."

Fascist Germany, which assumed the role of the main strike force of international imperialist reaction, devoted great attention to Finland, whose border formed one-third of the Soviet Union's western border and passed near its important political and economic centers and communications. From the mid-1930's intensive political and military rapprochement was under way between Finland and Germany. "During the late thirties the shadow of Hitler spread over us, and Finnish society as a whole cannot swear that it did not regard it with some affection," late President U. Kekkonen pointed out.

In light of this, the Soviet Union had complete justification for fearing for the security of its northwest borders, above all Leningrad, which was only 32 km from the border (the Finnish side frequently deemed the line of the border on the Karelian isthmus to be unsatisfactory, and this was the subject of Soviet-Finnish talks in 1918. The Soviet Government made concessions on this question in 1920 in the interests of attaining peace).

Naturally, Finland itself did not constitute a threat to the Soviet Union; however, any imperialist power could use this country as a bridgehead for aggression against the USSR. The nonaggression treaty concluded between the USSR and Finland in 1932, K. Stolberg, a prominent jurist and the country's former president, noted, could not be a juridical obstacle to this.

"Unsuccessful Talks" [subhead]

In connection with the increased threat of another world war, the Soviet Government frequently voiced the opinion to the Finnish Government of the urgent need to improve Soviet-Finnish relations.

On the initiative of the Soviet side, talks were held, on and off, between the USSR and Finland for almost 18 months—from April 1938 through November 1939—on taking steps to ensure the security both of the USSR's northwest borders and also of Finland itself. In the course of these talks most varied options for solving this problem were examined, including the following: the conclusion between both countries of a general treaty on mutual assistance; the conclusion of a limited treaty on mutual assistance in the defense of the Gulf of Finland; a pledge by Finland to oppose German aggression; shifting the border 70 km from Leningrad; exchanging territories; the creation of a Soviet naval base on the Hango Peninsula or on the islands adjacent to it; mutual disarmament of fortified border regions; and so on.

The Soviet side's proposals to the Finnish side in this regard were not dictated by selfish, still less aggressive, intentions and did not go beyond the framework of international law. Finnish historians and diplomats regard them as an "offer of aid" and point out their consistency and well-founded nature from the historical and military viewpoints.

However, the Finnish Government did not show any interest in securing an agreement and all the Soviet side's proposals were invariably rejected. Seeing the Soviet Government's tractability and its readiness for compromise, the Finnish Government chose to drag out the talks. It was felt that the Finnish Government was interpreting in its own favor the broadening of Hitler's aggression in Europe and reckoned that the Soviet Union's position would deteriorate. (Characteristically, the Western powers were immediately briefed on the Soviet proposals but the government, parliament, and, according to certain data, even the country's president, remained in the dark.)

Western powers' wrecking of the plans for creating a system of collective security and the complication of the situation in Europe, notably in the northwest, in connection with the beginning of World War II made it necessary for the Soviet Union to strengthen its defense. At the same time the Soviet Government did not lose hope that it would be possible to elaborate measures to ensure mutual security with Finland by diplomatic means.

Talks were resumed 12 October 1939. The Soviet Government, K. Korhonen, prominent Finnish historian and diplomat, writes, "was striving in October 1939 for an agreement rather than conflict with Finland..." "It was a question of how to guarantee the Finnish front if Germany actually tried to completely subjugate Finland's foreign policy or use part of its territory."

The Soviet Government's proposal to continue talks was used by rightist circles to kindle bellicose statements and mistrust toward the USSR. Before the talks decisions were made to concentrate troops on the Karelian isthmus and set them combat tasks. The field army bgan to be formed 14 October. On the instructions of Foreign Minister E. Erkko, a massive propaganda campaign was mounted in the press and radio against any agreements with the USSR in order to create the impression that there was supposedly a danger to the country's independence. In short, everything was done to arouse in the Soviet Union mistrust concerning Finland's intentions and prepare conditions for the talks to be broken off.

The Soviet delegation at the talks, headed by I.V. Stalin, Finnish historians point out, made vigorous attempts to find a compromise solution. However, without the knowledge of the parliament and the government and with no consideration for the position of the army command, E. Erkko instructed the Finnish delegation to hold a firm line. Although the attainment of mutually acceptable agreements was in the cards at one stage, E. Erkko's categorically negative position, supported by Defense Minister Nykanen and Finance Minister V. Tanner, did not enable these agreements to be concluded.

On the initiative of the Finnish side, the talks were broken off 13 November. The Finnish delegation returned to Helsinki. E. Erkko stated cynically that it had "more important things to do." The cessation of the talks, Finnish delegation head J. Paasikivi wrote, was "one of the most serious and grave mistakes in a series of Finnish foreign policy miscalculations. Mistakes were also made previously, notably in 1938 and at the beginning of 1939; they were made one after the other until 1944. However, fall 1939 was the departure point for subsequent events."

Reactionary circles in the imperialist powers bear a great deal of the responsibility for the development of events. The talks were held in an atmosphere of direct interference from Western powers, which—playing on the national sentiments of the Finns—advised the Finnish Government not to make any agreements with the USSR and hinted at support on their part.

The Soviet Government had not ruled out from mid-1939 the possibility of the breakdown of talks. Now this became a fact. I.V. Stalin raised at the Military Council the question that "we will have to fight Finland."

The Finnish Government made no attempt to resume talks. It chose the course of maintaining high combat readiness and awaiting events in Europe. At the same time "patriotic rallies" continued at which members of the government and parliamentary deputies made provocative speeches.

The 105-Day War [subhead]

In late November the Soviet Government made yet another attempt to prevent the military conflict which was threatening to break out and told Finland to withdraw its troops 20-25 km from the border so as to rule out possible border incidents. The Finnish Government did not accept this proposal and issued a counterdemand that the Soviet forces withdraw by the same distance, which would have meant withdrawing to the suburbs of Leningrad, thus depriving the city of all cover. The Soviet Government interpreted this as evidence that the Finnish Government "continues to occupy hostile positions vis-a-vis the USSR." On 28 November the Soviet Union declared the denunciation of the Nonaggression Treaty and recalled its diplomatic representatives from Finland.

The forces of the Leningrad Military District were ordered to push back the border on the Karelian isthmus by means of active combat operations. The aim of the subsequent military measures was to reach a line linking Keksgolm and Vyborg, which, according to the Soviet command's plan, was to decide the outcome of the war. On 30 November Red Army units crossed the Finnish border. (In the past the beginning of hostilities has frequently been depicted in Soviet literature as an act of aggression on the part of Finland.)

A message, passed on by the Swedish envoy in Moscow, stating the Finnish Government's readiness to resume talks was rejected by Molotov with reference to the fact that the Soviet Union would henceforth recognize only the provisional people's government of the "Finnish Democratic Republic" which had been set up after the beginning of the war by representatives of the Finnish left living in exile. This government declared that it had set itself the task of concluding a peace with the Soviet Union, democratizing the country, and ensuring its independence by concluding a treaty of mutual assistance and friendship with the USSR.

During the first stage of the war Soviet forces on the Karelian isthmus crossed a strip of heavy fortifications and arrived at the main line of defense, referred to as the "Mannerheim Line" in the Western press, along the whole length of the front. In the difficult severe winter conditions it proved impossible to break through this line quickly and the military operations became bogged down.

The People's Government of Finland looked clearly makeshift and failed to gain support among the Finnish people. It agreed to talks between the Soviet Government and the R. Ryti government, which had been formed in Helsinki 1 December 1939, and disbanded itself.

The Western powers were hoping to turn the Soviet-Finnish conflict into the starting point of an imperialist "crusade" against the USSR. The British and French supreme military command drew up a plan for the intervention of their forces in Finland in the war against the USSR. At the same time they prepared to strike at the Soviet Union from the south. (Germany was at that time tied down by the war in the West and, afraid of a war on two fronts, did not offer large-scale assistance to Finland.)

In this case the Soviet Union and Finland would have been drawn into a world war. In the prevailing situation it was important to speedily resolve the military conflict and to prevent the imperialists of the Western powers from making use of it.

In January 1940 Finland put out peace feelers. The Soviet Union, H. Wuolijoki, a Finnish public figure who took part in the negotiations, has said, "showed sympathy for our deceived but courageous people who had for

many years been subjected to the blinding influence of a hostile propaganda of lies, since the USSR did not want a war against our people," and the Soviet representatives "displayed very deep understanding and friendship toward our people"...

Many Finnish politicians understood that turning the country into a battlefield would have meant total disaster for Finland, but the government was in no hurry to open peace negotiations, despite the agreement of the Soviet side, and the bitter fighting continued for several more weeks. The Finnish ruling circles took the view that war between Germany and the Soviet Union was imminent, and that Finland, if it took part in any aggression on the side of the West, might end up playing "a historic role in weakening the Soviet Union."

The breaching of the "Mannerheim Line" by Red Army units and their successful advance prompted the Finnish Government to agree to talks. A peace treaty between the USSR and Finland was signed 12 March 1940. Its conditions rebutted conjectures that the Soviet Union wanted to "destroy" Finland's independence. In actual fact the treaty meant the restoration of the historical Russian-Finnish border as it had been before 1809. Its aim was to ensure the security of the northwest border of the USSR—Leningrad, the ice-free Murmansk port, and the Murmansk railroad. In addition the USSR obtained a lease on Hanko Island with a view to setting up a naval base there. This played a considerable role in the defense of the northern flank during the Great Patriotic War.

Was this war inevitable? Many people are asking that with justification. "It can be confidently said that if there had been no outside influences on Finland, if there had been less incitement and hostile policy toward the Soviet Union on the part of certain third states, the Soviet Union and Finland would have been able to arrive at a peaceful settlement in the fall of last year and there would have been no war." This was stated at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in March 1940. U. Kekkonen noted many times that war could have been avoided if the Finnish Government at the time had shown understanding of the interests of the USSR and Finland itself.

In conversation with U. Kekkonen in the early fifties V.M. Molotov admitted that the Soviet Union was also partly to blame for the development of the events that led up to the war.

Soviet historians have yet to create an integral picture of the history of relations between the USSR and Finland. It is beyond question that the events relating to the 1939-1940 war will receive a more thorough reading in the course of this work.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S.-Backed Conspiracy Uncovered in Panama

LD2709165588 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Panama September 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev:

Representatives of Panamanian secret services opened a press conference here Tuesday with the report that the Panamanian leadership has irrefutable evidence of the existence of a plan of subversive psychological operations and the so-called low intensity war against the Republic on the part of the United States.

Eduardo Herrera Hassan, former lieutenant-colonel and ambassador of Panama to Israel, who had an espionage ring in Washington, Miami and among the participants in the abortive state coup of March, 1988, gave guidance to carrying through subversive anti-Panamanian actions. Lieutenant-Colonel Nivaldo Madrinan, general director of the national investigation department, said that altogether 38 people were arrested by Panama's secret services. The U.S. Howard Base in the Panama Canal Zone was used as the main channel for smuggling putschists.

The Pentagon provided not only its funds and aircraft for the anti-government activity, but also a kind of political asylum to the plotters, making it easier for them to deal with visa problems, supplying them with weapons, funds, communications facilities, ammunition, etc. All this is the most flagrant violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the canal and bears out Washington's unceasing attempts to aggravate to the critical pitch bilateral relations and destabilize the political situation inside the country by whipping up an atmosphere of fear, violence and anarchy.

A principal objective of the plan of the United States and the local reaction, whose realization had been monitored by the Panamanian security forces for five months now, was to discredit General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, and his closest associates. This is seen from the testimony given by the arrested participants in the plot. The plotters' intention to swamp the country with the wave of violence and vandalism for the sake of meeting the ambitious claims of the right-wing opposition, which after losing the hope to come to power through fair elections applied for help to the United States, seem even more criminal, Madrinan said.

At issue in this case is a large-scale operation in carrying out which Washington drew with the help of its puppets and local agents extremist elements from among former military men, oligarchy, students, and right-wing parties. The organisation, National Civil Crusade, which is headed by American experts in psychological warfare, acted, as before, as the head detachment of reaction.

IZVESTIYA Updates Haiti Situation

PM2709131188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent report: "Haiti: Tense Quiet"]

[Text] Havana—During the week which has elapsed since the coup d'etat in Haiti, the situation in the country has stabilized, although the further development of events is hard to predict.

The uncertainty of the situation depends primarily on the fact that the political orientation of the organization of soldiers and sergeants which overthrew the Henri Namphy regime and handed power over to General Prosper Avril remains unclear. The positive nature of the program proclaimed by Joseph Hebreux, the leader of the group of young sergeants, and the resolve with which they have set about purging the army and the regions of the capital of the "tonton macoutes" are in contradiction with their blatant distrust of civilian politicians.

The new Haiti authorities have in fact thwarted the holding of a mass march in support of the military's democratic program announced by a number of Haiti's political and labor union associations. Permission to organize this demonstration was not given. According to information from Port-au-Prince, General Avril met with Silvio Claude, leader of the Christian Democratic Party. The meeting ended without result: The majority of political forces are demanding general elections in the country within 6 months, while the military insists on a 2-year deadline. The soldiers are carrying out searches in the capital and are confiscating weapons in order to prevent the resurgence of paramilitary formations in the service of the former regime.

The fate of a group of high-ranking officers arrested by the soldiers during the week has emerged. They will be retired. This fate has already befallen 49 officers.

The altered situation in Haiti raises the question of the possibility of the renewal of U.S. aid to that country, suspended in November last year. THE NEW YORK TIMES points out that although Washington has not yet formulated its official opinion on the nature of the new Haitian regime, the aid question will very much depend on Avril's readiness to hand over to U.S. justice Colonel Jean-Claude Paul, accused of drug smuggling. So far Paul's positions remain unchanged: He continues to head one of the most combat-ready units of the Haitian Army.

UN Human Rights Offical Cited on Cuba Visit

PM2709135188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin dispatch: "Commission Has Completed Work"]

[Text] Havana—As IZVESTIYA has already reported, an authoritative international group of observers from the UN Human Rights Commission has spent 10 days working in Cuba.

Considerations of impartiality and objectivity determined the strictly confidential nature of its activity. The results of this trip will be made known only from the report which the mission will submit to the next session of the UN Human Rights Commission in February next year.

At a meeting with journalists at the end of the group of observers' stay in Cuba, the head of the group, Alioune Sene, commented as follows on the mission's working conditions:

"Above all I should like to stress that the Cuban Government, at whose invitation we came to Havana, gave our group access to all necessary sources of information. The work program was extremely strenuous. We had talks with Fidel Castro, president of the Republic's State Council and Council of Ministers, and other leaders of the Republic, ministers, representatives of public organizations, religious leaders, and private individuals. The Cuban authorities gave complete freedom of speech to all citizens who wanted to address our group and guaranteed that none of them would be persecuted for doing so. In the 10 days of our stay we had 68 such meetings. Time restricted our opportunities and we will examine 1,523 statements later.

"This visit was undoubtedly useful. Our group now has a clear idea of the Cuban people's sociopolitical and cultural conditions—factors inseparable from the question of the observance of human rights. This deeper study will enable us to formulate more precisely the conclusions which will then be examined at the commission's session in Geneva.

"Expressing the common opinion of the group's members, I should like to note that the conditions created for our work do credit to the Cuban Government. This openness on questions of the observance of human rights will undoubtedly help to strengthen trust within the framework of the world community."

Political & Social

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

More on 25 Sep 'Clashes'

NC2809082688 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] The party and government organs in the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have refuted the claims and fabrications put forward in Yerevan, capital of the Armenian SSR, in connection with the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh. Clashes have occurred in the autonomous oblast during the past few days.

The disclosure made by the leadership in Nagorno-Karabakh stated that the people of the oblast have described the declaration of a special situation and the imposition of a curfew as a (?harsh) but necessary measure.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, including in its capital Stepanakert, is gradually being stabilized. The leadership is prepared to make daily disclosures on the incidents in the oblast in order to obstruct untrue and fabricated rumors.

NKAO Leaders' Appeal Reported

NC2809084688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] An appeal to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee:

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast party committee and the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee conveyed an appeal to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and to the editorial offices of the newspapers in the Armenian SSR on 24 September. The appeal said:

The Nagorno-Karabakh party committee, the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee, and the people in Nagorno-Karabakh categorically condemn the rumors and fabrications which have been circulated during the demonstrations in Yerevan in connection with the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh during the past few days. The people of the oblast have regarded the declaration of a special situation and the imposition of a curfew as a (?harsh) but essential measure. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, particularly in Stepanakert, is gradually being stabilized. Relations between the people and the military units are normalizing. The necessary measures are being taken to establish work harmony in the city rayons.

The Nagorno-Karabakh party committee and the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee deem that the [word indistinct] of suspicious sources of information, which completely distort the nature of the incidents in the oblast, is impermissible. This type of information, which was spread during the demonstrations in Yerevan, provoked the people and fanned passions. We are prepared to provide daily information on the incidents in the oblast in order to ward off ridiculous and unfounded rumors, the spreading of which serves the interests of those who oppose the reconstruction course, and in order to find a fair settlement to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

We request that the text of this telegram be read during the meeting in Yerevan.

[Signed] Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast party committee, and Babayan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

Strike Intensification Urged

AU2709112288 Paris AFP in English 1109 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 27 (AFP)—Armenian nationalist leaders called on supporters to step up their strike action at a rally on Tuesday morning attended by 150,000 people in the Armenian capital Yerevan.

Leon Ter Petrosyan, a member of the banned Karabakh committee coordinating the protest movement, said the intention was to keep up pressure on the authorities.

Contacted by telephone, he said: "We have entered a decisive period. The idea is that we must not relax pressure, because the authorities have not yet made any concession on the main issue", the return to Armenia of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh by neighbouring Azerbaijan.

The Karabakh committee had hitherto left the decision to continue work stoppages to the grassroots. The committee said strike orders were being followed 80 per cent and warned against believing official communiques.

The daily SOCIALIST INDUSTRY on Tuesday said 40,000 workers had been on strike the day before, roughly a third of the workforce in Yerevan.

Mr. Ter Petrosyan said bus services were only operating because soldiers and uniformed police were sitting next to the drivers.

The protestors' central demand is an extraordinary session of the Armenian parliament to discuss Nagorno-Karabakh.

The president of the parliament's presidium, Grant Voskanyan, did not rule out the possibility of such a session when he met representatives of the committee on Monday.

"He did not give a precise response. He did not say yes. But he did not say no", Mr. Ter Petrosyan said, adding that the meeting was on the initiative of the authorities.

The last such negotiations were just over a week ago, when the first secretary of the local Communist Party, Suren Arutyunyan, met members of the committee.

The authorities seemed to be taking a softer line against the movement after failing to intimidate it with a show of military force last week.

Soldiers and armoured cars had mostly been withdrawan from the streets, to the relief of strikers. The atmosphere at Tuesday's rally was generally optimistic and another meeting was called for later in the day.

"We will have an extraordinary session of parliament. Nagorno-Karabakh will be ours", Mr. Ter Petrosyan said confidently.

Curfew Reduced; 'Good Sign'

LD2709182688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Now let us talk about those problems which, I think, we would all like to see disappear into the past as soon as possible.

Major General Ignatov, head of a directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and member of the UN committee to combat and prevent crime, told Soviet and foreign journalists today about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] at the Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow:

[Begin Ignatov recording] After the adoption of a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in July this year, made in connection with events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, the situation began to change for the better and life began to enter its normal rhythm. Active work got under way to fulfill the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on intensifying the economic and social development of the autonomous oblast. There was an improvement in the atmosphere in labor collectives and teaching establishments.

However, the processes of improvement which had begun in Armenia and Azerbaijan were clearly not to the liking of a certain group of persons, who, on a wave of destabilizing public life, are trying to satisfy their ambitious claims to leadership and at times to escape responsibility for abuses and mercenary crimes.

In response to the actions of the law enforcement bodies to stop abuses and to defend the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, the leaders of the dissolved Krunk committee provoked an attack on the procuracy in the town of Stepanakert. Fearing being unmasked, these people organized constant meetings, called for strikes, and spread various fabrications about clashes which had allegedly occurred between the Armenian and Azerbaijan populations.

This was done in an attempt to distract the public from topical problems of restructuring and the real struggle against negative phenomena, to switch attention to questions of relations between nationalities, and to use any pretext to whip up nationalistic passions. All of this led to a sharp deterioration in the situation in the autonomous oblast. Industrial enterprises, building organizations, and public transport stopped work. Lessons in teaching establishments ceased. A clash was provoked near the village of Khodzhaly, 6 km from the town of Stepanakert, and firearms and other weapons were used in the fighting by both sides. These acts of excess were then continued in the town of Stepanakert, in Shusha, and in a number of other populated areas of the NKAO.

As a result of these acts of excess, 49 people were hurt; 17 needed hospital treatment, and 1 of them later died. Some 30 houses and commercial buildings were burned down. This showed that the situation which had arisen was in sharp contrast to the interests of the working people of both republics and could no longer be tolerated.

Under these conditions, in order to maintain the necessary public order and the security of citizens, and in accordance with the powers granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a special status and a curfew were imposed in the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast and in the Agdamskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan SSR, which literally borders on that oblast.

A special status must not be confused with martial law [voyennoye polozheniye]. In this case the special status has the aim only of strengthening the defense of public order by means of establishing more favorable conditions toward this.

Measures to strengthen the defense of public order were taken in Yerevan, too, but without the introduction of a special status and a curfew.

I wish to stress that the present measures are temporary and, naturally, after the situation has stabilized, they will very quickly be revoked. The timeliness of adopting these measures is confirmed by the fact that since the introduction of the special status and the curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh and the adjacent regions of Azerbaijan on 21 September, not a single crime has been committed. [end recording]

As has been reported by our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko, at the request of urban and rayon authorities and representatives of the labor collectives, the curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh was reduced by 1 hour today. This is a good sign that the situation is improving.

Armenian Field-Workers Interviewed

LD2709220788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Over the past few days we have traveled hundreds of kilometers through Armenia and have talked with dozens of people. On the whole the impression we get is that there are two Armenias. One consists of those youngsters, wound up to the limit, who crowd Opera Square in Yerevan for hours and raise demands, each more categorical than the last. [video shows crowds of people, some of whom attempt to prevent the cameraman from filming]. The other is working Armenia, ordinary folk from town and village who in spite of everything continue working, perfectly aware that only a calm and constitutional approach can really assist the solution of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. [video shows women working in the fields, then cuts to unidentified man being interviewed in field with work going on in background].

[Man] In our kolkhoz everyone is working. There have not been any strikes. We think that the Central Committee and our higher organs of state should take some steps to calm people down so that life returns to normal again. [video shows unidentified woman being interviewed in a field with other men and women present]

[Woman] I am Armenian. She is an (?Azerbaijani). [woman points to another woman] There are also Kurds, there are Turks—no, there aren't any more Turks. We all work together. We work very well, peacefully. But you must make everyone equal—Turks and Kurds and (?Azerbaijanis) and Armenians, all equal. Why put differences between them? Why?

[Correspondent] You don't want this enmity? You don't need it?

[Woman] We don't want it at all. [other women shout "no" in background] [passage omitted]

[Correpondent] This is how working Armenia is reacting to the inflammatory appeals from the Karabakh committee for strikes and an escalation of tension. And in the uncertainty of the present situation in the republic, in all opinions, that is probably the very best sign.

Committee's 'Dubious Actions'

LD2709184888 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan September 27 TASS—To the question of where from calls are coming to disrupt public transport operations so as to paralyze the working life of this city, Armenia's Interior Ministry points directly to the "Karabakh committee".

Losing their influence on people, committee leaders are out to achieve their goal by staging all manner of dubious actions.

Outside of factory gates and in busy thoroughfares, for example, there have appeared groups of persons interfering with traffic, stopping motor vehicles and making threats.

In short, they are, in the words of militia ledgers, attempting to prevent buses, trolley-buses and trams from going their rounds, by picketing them on their routes and applying violence to drivers.

The disquieting situation in which urban transport has found itself has, naturally, called for prompt interference on the part of public-order forces.

All the militia personnel along with the assigned law-enforcement forces and volunteer militia-assistance squads have been alerted to prevent such actions against public transport.

Officers from the Armenian Interior Ministry who took part in organizing this kind of protection testify:

Transport is an important nerve in the city organism. It is enough to sever it to leave the city paralyzed. This is realized full well by those who would only benefit from the situation being destabilized.

The danger is too great to be neglected. This is why all the measures essential in such cases have been adopted.

On the strength of a decree by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on procedures for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstrations in the USSR and a resolution by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia on responsibility for violating established procedures for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstrations, measures of administrative and social influence have been taken.

By today, they have been applied to 84 persons. One has been convicted by a people's court, another four have been subjected to administrative arrests for between ten and 15 days, and 39 others fined.

Material on many participants in disorders and unauthorized rallies has been passed on to court which will determine their measure of responsibility before law.

One recalls in this connection an alarming appeal from Armenia's Health Ministry to transport workers at a time when erratic transportation services led to almost insurmountable problems with providing medical assistance to Yerevan residents, as a result of which many disabled and elderly people as well as children had to suffer.

But those whose recklessness has now turned into ill intent couldn't care less.

So they have made another attempt to stir things up. But nothing's come out of it.

Yerevan Strike Claims Refuted

LD2709230088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Our special correspondents Koryan Khomaryan and Leonid Lazarevich report from the capital of Armenia:

[Lazarevich] The situation in Yerevan continues to remain complicated; I would even say fraught with unpredictable consequences. Unsanctioned meetings take place every day, morning and evening, in Opera Square. The orators demand the immediate convening of a special session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and they consider the shortest road to this to be a strike. It is true that in the last few days these calls for strikes find less and less support in the city's labor collectives. For example, we were told today in the Yerevan Gorkom that only 14 industrial enterprises are not working. A working rhythm has been fully reestablished at 134 enterprises, and partially at 80 enterprises. Excluding the street cars, all surface city transport is working, and the Yerevan underground did not stop working even on the worst days of last week.

[Khomaryan] The contrast between the peaceful flow of life in the streets of Yerevan and the tension of the seething cauldron of people on Opera Square attracts attention. I noticed that people may argue with me, disagree with me in the streets, at home, at the workplace, but they will behave properly. On Opera Square, however, there is no guarantee that people will not insult you, offend you, just because you do not agree with the speaker making his speech on this square. Something else: Here someone who is speaking out against strikes may not be allowed to speak. They simply do not want to listen to such people. The loud, resounding sentence is met with chanting and with arms thrown in the air. For the sake of fairness I must say that by my reckoning only a third of those present at the meeting throw up their arms and chant. Here on the square, many rumors are born. Irresponsible statements are heard. Yesterday a cab driver from depot no 1, speaking on the square, stated that all his colleagues were joining the strike. However, in the morning on the streets we saw passenger cabs. We called in to the Yerevan cab association and interviewed its director, Abgar Aramovich Manukyan.

[Begin Manukyan recording] Yes, I also heard that statement, but I must tell you that I spoke with the director of cab enterprise No 1. There was no such general meeting, there was no such decision. Apparently it was one driver who was speaking only for himself and said all that. The situation remains tense in the city, but our drivers are working and in general want to work. There are cases of drivers coming back from routes because passengers remonstrate with them as to why they turned up to work. [end recording]

[Khomaryan] The speakers on the square talk a great deal about democracy, but what sort of democracy is this if those who wish to work are forced not to work and moral pressure is brought to bear on them?

[Lazarevich] And here is another observation. An increasing number of people in the republic are now asking one and the same question: Who gains from slowing down the implementation of the decision on Nagorno-Karabakh? Who gains from thwarting the economic and cultural drawing together which is getting under way between the NKAO and the Armenian SSR? Who gains from the fact that the broad program adopted by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers on helping the economic and social development of the NKAO has not managed to take its first steps yet, has now come to a standstill, and has had the brakes applied? Who gains from the fact that Armenian builders cannot build today in Stepanakert the planned housing, and that scientists of the Yerevan Physics Institute have been forced to postpone until better times the implementation of many of their projects in the NKAO, projects aimed at helping to create in the oblast a strong scientific base?

The process of becoming aware of these realities is proceeding in very complicated and unclear circumstances, but it is proceeding.

[Khomaryan] Today it is clear that there are forces in the republic that are interested in maintaining a high level of tension. They are drawing people into this seething cauldron of passions and emotions, people who would never follow them in a calm atmosphere.

It was very painful for me to see at the morning meeting boys in school uniforms who had abandoned their lessons. And here is another sad thing. No one went up to them and said: Boys, go back to school, you must study.

Corruption, 'Subversive' Acts

PM2809092588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko report: "Who Stands To Gain"]

[Text] Yerevan-Moscow—Passions and emotions are running high in Armenia again. ...There has been bloodshed in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. There are refugees.... The last Armenian families have been forced to leave Shusha.... Opera Square in Yerevan has again been packed with people.... Admittedly, fewer people are taking part in the rallies now than in February, but their mood is far more aggressive....

Yes, it is an absurd situation, but a very cruel one for all its absurdity. Cruel both because it is a dead end, and for the simple reason that people—ordinary working people who are undoubtedly sincere—are suffering, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

But, looking at the lists of casualties—both the dead and the simply maimed people and families who no longer have a roof over their head (their homes having been burned down or destroyed)—we did not see a single name of those who have been talking (and are still talking) in the squares and at street corners about the "great national idea," about the "detrimental nature" of neighboring peoples, and about the "need to stand firm to the finish."

It is not the first time that such a thing has happened in history: People who think themselves politicians and incite others to conflict suddenly disappear when the feelings they have fanned reach a very dangerous temperature. And then it suddenly turns out that the role of first fiddle was played not by them, the politicians-for-a-day, but by those who are accustomed to hiding their faces in the shadows, the real orchestrators of tragedies.

Two weeks ago one of us attended the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. It seemed then that the situation in the republic had stabilized and that people's social activeness was being channeled in a constructive, creative direction. The republic's press was full of readers' letters raising urgent problems for Armenia and making suggestions for resolving them. The only thing that remained was for people to roll up their sleeves without delay and turn the program outlined by the plenum into concrete action. But the very day after the plenum calls for a national strike were heard from the leaders of the so-called "Karabakh" committee in the square outside the Yerevan Opera House.

Was that a coincidence?

We think not.

One fundamental fact is that the current situation in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh itself emerged several days before the clash in the Karabakh settlement of Khodzhaly, which was its "official" cause. What brought about this situation?

Yes, it must be admitted that the party and government decisions on providing socioeconomic aid to the NKAO population are being carried out only slowly. And this is arousing justifiable complaints from people both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia. But what can be done if people have been doing virtually no work for so long in the autonomous oblast and if emotions and feelings have still not died down? No, we think that the real reason for the new wave of strikes in the autonomous oblast lies elsewhere. This was confirmed, albeit indirectly, by their organizers—members of the so-called "board of directors"—essentially the "Krunk" committee that was dissolved by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Continuing to press for Nagorno-Karabakh's amalgamation with Armenia, they put forward new ultimatums, demanding that all checks and audits of enterprises be stopped, that all criminal proceedings—including against people who made grenades—be dropped, that representatives of the prosecutor's offices of Azerbaijan and the USSR be expelled from the NKAO, that a new oblast prosecutor, who must be an Armenian native of Nagorno-Karabakh, be appointed, and that military subunits be withdrawn.

There is no denying that these are unambiguous demands. And they appeared immediately after the prosecutor's office finally tried to seriously get to the roots of the corruption, bribery, and embezzlement—long before the Khodzhaly tragedy, incidentally. We will return again to the Nagorno-Karabakh events and show just who needed to attack the oblast prosecutor's office and why.

For the time being, let us turn to events in Yerevan. Here too, it seems, the current situation was preceded by increased activity by law enforcement organs. In August and the first 10 days of September alone, when a special operations group from the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation started work in the republic, more than 200 crimes were brought to light, including 57 cases of embezzlement of socialist property (on a large scale), 49 cases of speculation (22 of which on a large or particularly large scale), around 10 cases of bribery, and others. The number of crimes runs into hundreds, and the damage runs to millions of rubles!

What is the connection between this and the strikes for the amalgamation of the NKAO with Armenia?

"We can't yet say there is a direct connection," the leader of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Operations Group (his name is withheld for understandable reasons), noted, "but the violations of law and order themselves play into the criminals' hands. It was no accident that in July, when the strikes were at their peak, only one-fourth (!) as many crimes were uncovered as in August."

Is inaction in the struggle against corruption in the interests of the tens of thousands of people who are rallying in Opera Square even as these lines are being written?

Purification began with the arrival of the new leadership. A number of party and economic leaders were forced to give up their jobs. The republic's ministries of health and social security handed back the notorious "closed"

boardinghouses, dachas, and reception centers. Order began to be instilled in trade. Cooperatives that engaged in direct speculation were banned.

But the main thing is that the new leaders have entered into a direct dialogue with the people. Today, for example, the arrival of the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee or the republic's president at a worker collective is not an event but an everyday occurrence. People have gotten the feeling that their opinions are valued and that their social activeness is needed in order to advance restructuring.

But there is great opposition!

We were told that the Oktemberyanskiy party raykom bureau raised the question of the dismissal of Mikhail Vardanyan, chairman of the rayispolkom, for shortcomings in his work. The next day a crowd (of approximately 200 people) gathered outside the raykom building demanding the resignation of the...party raykom first secretary—an energetic man who has done a great deal for the rayon. The most active members of this crowd were...Vardanyan's relatives!

The remedying of the situation at the "Razdanskiy Mashinostroitel" Association, where overreporting was discovered, was stridently opposed by General Director T. Ter-Petrosyan and other leaders. And they did absolutely nothing to prevent strikes. Some of them even encouraged them.

It should be said that the authorities do not always behave resolutely and consistently, above all with regard to the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, who are becoming more and more confrontational, hold unsanctioned rallies at which provocative demands are sometimes voiced, deride party and state organs, and even raise the question of seizing power. So as not to make unsubstantiated allegations, we will cite some of the statements recently made in Opera Square. We give the names of those who made them.

V. Siradegyan: "The main mistake of 26 February was ending the strike in a position of strength.... We are a nation of fighters and warriors, not a nation of crybabies.... We must stop explaining things and start talking solely from the position of the strength of our unity."

L. Ter-Petrosyan (brother of the aforesaid T. Ter-Petrosyan): "...we need Armenian military formations."

M. Georgisyan: "Ladies and gentlemen! We are on the brink of destiny, let us no longer hear the expression 'comrade' here.... Moscow's stooges cannot run Armenia, they are the enemy camp.... Moscow's interests, as we have long known, run counter to our interests. This means that we must openly declare war.... And the state to which we are entitled to appeal will be able to intervene in our internal affairs."

A. Manucharyan: "Those who are now sending in the army here again should know that the Armenian people see this army as a colonial army."

That is enough, we think. ...That, it seems, is how far things have gone already! And this activity—which cannot be called anything but subversive—has now been going on for 9 months. Let us be blunt: It has all been going on with impunity. That is why we have to speak of inconsistency and lack of resolve shown by state and law enforcement organs. After all, if persuasion does not work, then, under Soviet law, compulsion must be used. But the Yerevan militia have been virtually idle, and their chief—K. Kazaryan—received merely a severe reprimand "without endorsement" at a party gorkom bureau session on the grounds that the chief of the city's internal affairs administration had managed to pin his mistakes on the republic's MVD, despite the fact that he is responsible for law and order in Yerevan. A special word should be said about the republic's law enforcement organs. In the last few months they have demonstrated their lack of effectiveness [nesostoyatelnost] in the extreme conditions that arose. And it is natural that a new minister of internal affairs has been appointed in the republic. But this, we think, is just the first step. Militia organs should be reinforced with principled, incorruptible people who are expert at their jobs.

We say again: What is happening today is not the Armenian people's fault, it is their misfortune. Viewing the idea of amalgamating the NKAO with Armenia as a pan-national idea, people have failed to realize that they are being used as a front by ambitious and corrupt people in order to maintain an unhealthy moral atmosphere in the republic.

Is it not time to take a look at just who stands to gain from this and to choose our own position in this difficult and ambiguous situation? And having chosen it, we should firmly and actively uphold it, as is now being done by those Communists in the republic who cherish socialist ideals and the genuine interests of Armenia.

Baku Soviet Executive Committee Chairman Resigns
NC2809083888 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] The Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies held its regular meeting today. The convocation discussed organizational matters and the fulfillment of [words indistinct] which concern the residents of the city.

The meeting approved an appeal made by Oktay Zaynalov, chairman of the Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee, to be relieved of his responsibilities. Niyaz Karabakhly was appointed as the new chairman of the Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

Neftekamsk Youths Clash With Militia 25 Sep
PM2709174588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Sep 88 p 3

[A. Yenikeyev report: "Incident in Neftekamsk"]

[Text] On the evening of 25 September, Neftekamsk Internal Affairs Department personnel were given the alarm. Patrol vehicles rushed one after the other to the city's central square. A crowd of youths was causing trouble there—they had been through the streets, wrecking and smashing everything in their path.

Flushed from their brawl, the youths rushed at anyone wearing the militia uniform—the latter responded by firing warning shots in the air from handguns and submachineguns. The situation eventually became so bad that the city internal affairs department leadership had to call for several fire engines, which directed strong jets of water into the crowd.

So what was the cause of such an extraordinary event—in a city, moreover, which has always been given a more or less favorable rating in the reports issued by the Bashkiria Internal Affairs Ministry? This is what I was told by R. Distanov, senior militia district inspector:

"We were told that some youths were brawling in one of the yards on Socialist Street. Arriving at the scene of the incident, I saw a crowd of about 200 people armed with fencing, bits of pipe, and lumps of brick. They were groups of young people who had made up their minds to settle some scores."

After arresting some of the people involved in the brawl, the patrol vehicle returned to the city internal affairs department and the militia captain was left behind on his own. Someone in the crowd shouted: "Let's beat up the cops!" This cry was taken up by others and, every time, the members of the militia, like Distanov, who spent half an hour remonstrating with the seething crowd, displayed cool heads and self-restraint. It is largely thanks to this that the events of Sunday evening did not develop into a bloody drama.

Through the joint efforts of militia patrols, members of the party gorkom and gorispolkom, and internationalist servicemen from the Komsomol voluntary people's militia, the conflict was localized and by midnight the city streets were empty.

Nine militia members were slightly injured. Two youths were hurt during the fighting between different groups. Fourteen militia and fire department vehicles were damaged.

It has become clear during the investigation now underway that the conflict between the youths and militia was no accident. That evening the crowd had been worked up by ex-criminals convicted for hooliganism and violence. Some of them were arrested. The city prosecutor's office has instituted criminal proceedings.

Khabarovsk Kraykom First Secretary Replaced
LD2809094588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Reports have come in today from Khabarovsk about a plenum of the CPSU Kraykom, at which an organizational matter was examined. The plenum freed Comrade Chernyy from his duties as kraykom first secretary owing to his retirement on pension. Comrade Pasternak, who has been working as chief of the CPSU Central Committee Transport and Communications Department and before that as chairman of the Khabarovsk Krayispolkom, was elected head of the kray party organization.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Gorkom Plenum
PM2809075588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondents S. Bogatko and Yu. Kazmin report: "To Advance Without Stopping. Problems of Improving Management and Enhancing the Soviets' Role Discussed at Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum"; uppercase as published]

[Text] Moscow—A cardinal question stemming directly from the 19th all-union party conference decisions—the question of deepening restructuring—was submitted for examination at a Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum. It discussed the ways and methods to achieve the soviets' genuine sovereignty and how to introduce the principles of self-management and self-financing into leadership of the economy and the sociocultural sphere. The plenum participants discussed the new master plan for managing Moscow's economy, which has been drawn up with regard to the economy's social reorientation. The report was delivered by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom. He pointed out that the ideas of restructuring and of the democratization of society and glasnost have radically changed the ideological-political atmosphere in the country and in the capital. The process of improving the economy's health has begun. The pace of scientific and technical progress in the national economy has speeded up. The new management methods are gathering momentum. The social thrust of our plans is being stepped up. However, restructuring is proceeding with far greater difficulty than had been presumed. In many collectives the attitude to work has not changed for the better, and freeloading sentiments have proved strong. Order and discipline need decisive strengthening at practically all levels of management.

It is necessary to ensure the sovereignty of the soviets as the basis of socialist statehood and the working people's self-management. I mean strengthening the soviets' legislative, managerial, and control functions in every possible way and restoring the leading position of elected organs in relation to the executive apparatus. These fundamental demands are the basis of the master plan for managing Moscow's economy, drawn up on the gorkom's initiative.

THE SYSTEM IS BEGINNING TO FUNCTION. The new plan for managing the capital's economy provides for the radical restructuring of city and rayon management organs. Its purpose is to create preconditions for going over to primarily economic methods. The structure is also changing substantially. Production associations and enterprises are becoming the basic link. At the same time managerial ties are being simplified. Parallelism and duplication are being eliminated. In all, there will be a cutback in the management apparatus and a reduction in costs. But most importantly, the new master plan makes it possible to really increase the responsibility of rayon soviets for ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the territories under their jurisdiction. The rayon soviets' functions are being widened substantially.

The plan has been approved and is beginning to function. However, to ensure that it works at full strength, party organization leaders must resolutely introduce a new work style: Rule out optionality, inefficiency, and indifference toward people's needs and aspirations. The establishment of complete clarity in relations between elected and executive organs must help to enhance the soviets' role and to ensure their functions as organs of people's power. At present the ispolkoms stand over the soviets and frequently resolve all questions for them. But it must be the other way round.

As is known, the 19th party conference advocated that the first secretary of the corresponding party committee be recommended, as a rule, for the post of soviet chairman. This will serve to enhance the role and prestige of the organs of people's power. It is not a question of changing signboards and moving leaders from office to office. The purpose is to improve national economic management so as to improve people's lives.

Let us take the food problem. Muscovites rightly express dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in this sphere. The report and the speeches by the plenum participants cited cases of indifference toward customers, of the impoverished nature of the range in the stores, of passivity and lack of interest in selling the resources that are available. This applies both to foodstuffs and to the most elementary consumer goods—soap, toothpaste.... It was pointed out that in a situation of muddle and nervousness swindlers are once again beginning to act impudently. Thus, trade, food industry, and bread and baked-goods industry enterprises have sold tons of strictly rationed nuts, coffee, chocolate, and other products to cooperatives. And the latter in turn have shamelessly inflated the prices. Such instances discredit the cooperative movement. Our task is to root out the system of mutual covering up here. For this it is extremely important for trade unions to revive the system of militant worker control. The incomes of many cooperatives plainly do not correspond to the number and quality of the products and services they provide. Questions of price formation in cooperatives and sources of raw materials still remain outside state control. The plenum participants entrusted the Moscow Gorispolkom with preparing and submitting to the government proposals for creating on the basis of financial, law enforcement, and control organs a specialized organization to instill order in this new sector of economic management.

ENSURING THE PURCHASING POWER OF EARNED MONEY. The accelerated development of light industry in the city is envisaged in accordance with the master plan, particularly the comprehensive modernization of more than 70 enterprises and the "turnkey" construction of new factories. But at present the shortage of commodities and the imbalance between incomes and the potential for using earned income for the purchase of goods or services which the earner of this income needs are growing in scale. This is why the plenum sharply criticized the communist leaders of large Moscow machine-building enterprises and associations who have decided to lighten their cares by producing only the simplest products. But the customer needs modern goods on a par with world standards.

The unrestrained growth in the prices of certain types of goods and services gives rise to serious complaints, as does the "flushing out" of inexpensive goods, particularly for children and pensioners, from the range. Rising prices have not bypassed economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] medical establishments either; the prices of many kinds of stomatological aid, for example, have increased 100-200 percent. And here is another example: The "Salyut" and "Vympel" Sewn Goods Associations have gone over to producing coats at contract prices between R450 and 600. And R650 or more for certain kinds.

The participants in the Moscow party gorkom plenum described as wrong and dangerous the desire of enterprises and ministries to take advantage of a shortage so as to increase their profit by the simple expedient of increasing the prices of products and services. The demands were voiced that the Moscow Gosispolkom and rayispolkoms keep the level of prices under the strictest control.

The housing question in the capital remains acute. Although it has been possible to overcome the negative trend of falling volumes of social and cultural-domestic construction, today one Muscovite in six needs an improvement in apartment conditions.

The recently created Moscow Construction Committee will be a central link of the master plan for managing the capital's economy. It is called upon to ensure the elimination of intermediate management links, raise the level of production concentration, and promote the introduction of economic accountability in construction. The new committee has been entrusted with the functions of Moscow's general developer. It will pursue a unified investment policy and be responsible for our capital's comprehensive development.

ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAM OF RENEWAL. Moscow Communists will soon have in their hands an effective instrument of planning and control—the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectorial program, which organically links plans for the development and intensification of individual sectors of industry, municipal services, and the consumer services sphere. It is the sum of the interlinked proposals of labor collectives and the city's rayons. It is also an important fact that as of January 1989 Moscow is going over to economic accountability and self-financing.

For the cause of restructuring to advance more quickly, it was stated at the plenum, it is extremely important to untie the hands of enterprising people, keep a strict eye on the execution of adopted decisions, and make more efficient use of what we have.

Man is the chief producer of material goods. It was stated at the plenum that people must be released more quickly from monotonous, heavy, and routine operations and that the achievements of scientific and technical progress must be introduced more quickly into production and everyday life. The size of the managerial apparatus of ministries and departments has already been reduced by almost one-third. However, the potential so released is not being utilized in a sufficiently well thought-out and efficient manner. The following paradox was also noted at the plenum: Staffs are being cut back, but ministries and departments keep the premises.

It is planned to introduce the new system for managing Moscow's economy at the same time as changing the structure and improving the quality of the work of the apparatus of party organs. Summing up the open and businesslike discussion, it may be said that our times are characterized by specific, decisive actions and by Communists' enhanced responsibility for the fate of restructuring. Actions and actions alone confirm the historic purpose of a member of the Leninist party—to be in the vanguard, out in front.

More on Plenum, Zaykov Remarks

LD2409162888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Today a plenum of the Moscow City party committee took place. The restructuring of the management of the national economy and the boosting of the role and independence of the soviets of people's deputies were discussed.

The very preparations for the plenum reflected that new atmosphere which determines the life style of the Moscow party organization today. The main subjects of discussion were defined at the meetings of members of the city committee with the capital's Communists and labor collectives.

Enormous amounts of work lie ahead. In order to cope with it successfully, one needs to take the right course: the course of the April Central Committee plenum and the 27th Party Congress, which was carefully tested at the all-union party conference.

This is what Comrade Zaykov, Politburo member, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow City party committee, had to say in his report at the plenum. The ideas of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost have radically changed the ideological and political atmosphere in the country and in our capital. The process of revitalizing the economy has started. The rates of scientific and technical progress have accelerated. The social orientation of the plans has become stronger. Naturally, we would all like to see the positive processes happening much more quickly, with people being aware of the growth in the standard of living immediately. However, restructuring is uncovering banks of problems that have built up, over and over again, and is going ahead with much greater difficulty.

At the plenum the situation that has taken shape in the foodstuffs' trade was analyzed, in particular with regard to vegetable produce. Great attention was paid to improving shopping facilities. It was stated that a decisive and uncompromising struggle must be waged against swindlers, whose impudent actions are creating an unhealthy atmosphere in the system of trading and public catering—a situation where people are irritable and there are queues.

The housing problem was discussed. It was noted that at the moment one out of every six Muscovites requires improved housing conditions. Even the complete implementation of the planned tasks for the present 5-year plan will, unfortunately, fail to satisfy the sharp growth in the need for housing. At the plenum other urgent matters were discussed which must be dealt with immediately.

Leningrad Obkom Plenum Discusses Food Supplies

PM2709133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov report under the general heading: "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Leningrad, 24 Sep—Analyzing the work of party organizations in implementing measures aimed at improving the population's food supply, the participants

in a Leningrad CPSU Obkom plenum held today paid chief attention to the need to strive more persistently and more consistently than before to resolve this very important task.

The report was delivered by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom. He pointed out that, without flattering themselves on certain positive results in implementing the Food Program, workers in spheres connected with the activity of the agro-industrial complex must resolutely overcome the inertia of stagnation and irresponsibility and show more concern for satisfying the population's needs by being geared up, above all, to local resources and possibilities. And these are great, as the facts cited at the plenum attest. For example, losses of the products of crop production and livestock raising on the way to the counter exceed the growth in them in the oblast.

The neglected state of the agricultural products storage base, the disorganized nature of processing, and flaws in the mechanism of economic ties exacerbate losses, lead to distortions in statistical reporting, and create favorable soil for embezzlement. More than 200,000 tonnes of potatoes and vegetables were left to rot at bases of the Leningrad City Main Administration for the Fruit and Vegetable Industry last year alone. Produce is also looked after badly in trade and public catering—there are many just complaints against stores and dining rooms.

The knot of diverse problems of supplying the population with food of high quality and the necessary range must be untied without delay, it was stated at the plenum. We must not bother about seeking "objective" causes of an unhappy state of affairs, but do more practical work. What has been said applies equally to the oblispolkom, the gorispolkom, agro-industrial committees, party organizations, and leaders of administrations, farms, and enterprises.

The plenum outlined specific measures to improve the matter.

More on Leningrad Plenum

LD2409112488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] The plenum of the Leningrad party obkom taking place today is devoted to solving food supply problems and to the question of the degree to which party organizations should be involved in this matter. The plenum opened its proceedings this morning and we have received a report from Smolnyy on the proceedings so far from our correspondent, Matvey Frolov:

[Frolov] Good day, respected listeners. Before telling you about the obkom plenum, I'll talk about what it is possible to buy at the market stalls standing almost on Nevskiy Prospekt, right next to the radio station building. I'll give you a list: White cabbage, cauliflower, celery, eggplant, grapes, plums, and grapefruit. In all then, not a bad selection if not comprehensive, relatively speaking. You understand, comrades, that almost all of this selection is not local produce. It is brought in from distant areas.

But not all is as it should be in the Leningrad area. Here are the data from the last summary for Leningrad oblast: Every day the state receives less than 3,000 tonnes of potatoes, instead of the 4,000 that it should receive according to the plan; 4-5,000 tonnes of vegetables, instead of the 7,000 in the plan; across the oblast vegetables have been harvested from less than half of the land planted with them. This is why the question of food supplies for the people of Leningrad is being discussed so keenly.

In the report by Yuriy Fillipovich Solovyev, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the obkom, and in other speeches, it is noted that the tasks of the food supply program in the city and oblast are not completely fulfilled. The main aim is not achieved—to significantly improve food supplies to the population by means of local production. Little attention is given to extending and mastering lease-contracting, family and individual contracting, and the creation of cooperatives. Scientific institutions and industrial enterprises could also do much in the development, manufacturing, and introduction of machine and equipment systems, which would ensure the full mechanization of labor in the cultivation, harvesting, storing, and processing of agricultural produce.

Party organizations do not always give a principled evaluation to communists and labor collectives who do not carry out the tasks assigned to them and who do not show the necessary initiative. The main thing now is that what is written in the decisions and the suggestions of the party activists and the people of Leningrad, which were made even before the plenum, should be realized.

Kirghiz Plenum Assesses Agro-Industrial Complex

PM2709105988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Smash the Braking Mechanism in the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] Frunze, 24 Sep—The participants in the republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum which took place today focused mainly on an all-around analysis of the critical observations on the development of the Kirghiz agro-industrial complex expressed at the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum. Progress in fulfilling the Food Program and measures to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the Kirghiz population were discussed in light of the demands of the 19th all-union party conference and the July plenum.

As a result of utilizing economic management methods, it was noted in speeches and in the report of A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, the gross agricultural output for the first 2 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan increased by 11 percent. For the first time the downward trend in the return on capital was halted. The number of loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes fell from 78 to 29. Plans for sales to the state of all kinds of agricultural output, except fruit and grapes, were overfulfilled.

At the same time, it was noted at the plenum, the rate of development achieved by the agro-industrial complex does not accord with modern demands.

Discussing the state of affairs in different sectors of agro-industrial complex production and administration, the plenum participants determined measures to eliminate the shortcomings. So, instructions were given to study the possibility of setting up a cooperative state association for fattening livestock under the auspices of the republic Gosagroprom, and it is planned to accelerate the construction and modernization of poultry plants, to implement retooling of the food and processing industry, and to reexamine the principles governing the siting of new canning and other enterprises.

Slyunkov, Medvedev Address Moscow Seminar
LD2609175188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] A new school year in the political and economic education system is approaching. An all-union seminar and conference of lecturers of party committees and political organizers of the USSR Armed Forces began in Moscow today.

Its participants will take a week to examine topical questions of restructuring the economic mechanism, reforming the political system, democratizing life within the party, the new political thinking, and the USSR's foreign policy.

Comrades Slyunkov and Medvedev delivered reports today. They also replied to numerous questions from the lecturers, who arrived from all regions of the country to take part in the seminar.

Baklanov Visits Moscow Science Center 26 Sep
LD2609212188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] One of the main factors of scientific and technical progress is the provision of society with information on the basis of introducing computer technology and new information techniques in all spheres of life. Work on solving applied tasks for the economy is now under way at the joint center of the Moscow Physics and Technology Institute and the Automation and Planning Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, along with training highly qualified scientific and engineering cadres. Among these a prominent place goes to research in the information technology sphere.

This center was visited today by Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Under discussion were matters of (?increasing) the contribution of science at the academies and in further education toward accelerating scientific and technical progress and developing promising forms of tuition. At the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, there was a conference that examined the state of affairs in the sphere of personal computers and integral systems of automated design in machine building.

Drug Rehabilitation Center Formed in Leningrad
PM2709155388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 1

[V. Kokosov report: "Assistance for Drug Addicts and Substance Abusers"]

[Text] Leningrad—The "Medical-Juridical Drug Addiction Center" cooperative will provide assistance for drug addicts and substance abusers.

"The number of registered drug addicts and substance abusers in our city has doubled over the last 5 years, while the proportion of minors among them has increased almost sevenfold," Jurist S. Lebedev, leader of the "Medical-Juridical Drug Addiction Center," told me. "Practice has shown that drug users come mainly from well-to-do families."

The center guarantees total anonymity of service. Any staffer who discloses information about a patient is liable to dismissal from the "Medical-Juridical Drug Addiction Center." The center's staffers will offer emergency medical assistance to patients and will also provide a full course of treatment at home. In addition to this, one of the cooperative's tasks will be to offer legal aid in criminal and civil cases involving drug addiction and substance abuse.

"And how about prices?"

"They will depend on the medicines that are used. But this does not at all mean that if someone has no money he will be sent away without assistance."

Account No 14000462498 has been opened at the Dzerzhinskoye Branch of the Bank for Housing and Social Construction. Remittances marked "Social Rehabilitation Fund" will be used only for the treatment of drug addicts who have no means to pay for it. The center also plans to work on the placement of former inmates in jobs but, as people say, this is yet to come.

Failure of Plant's Anti-Alcohol Drive Examined

PM2709151188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[A. Korolkov report: "Problems Must Not Be Tolerated. Notes From RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] Some 3 years ago measures were taken to combat alcoholism and drunkenness. This period has not been wasted in terms of society's moral improvement. There have been fewer alcohol-related crimes and family environments have become more settled. A reduction in alcohol consumption in the production unit has been noted more and more often. But not all labor collectives have yet created an atmosphere of intolerance toward violators of discipline, and in places there is still an ingrained attitude that liquor is an inevitable and insuperable phenomenon. The changing of the emphasis in the anti-alcohol campaign sometimes gives rise to a recurrence of the old sickness. One can expect dangerous complications in places where the campaign is aimed against vodka rather than drunkenness and where the sickness is internalized.

It is no secret that in certain places it was thought that "minor" drunkenness could be completely stopped by restrictions on liquor sales without an organized and coordinated approach by economic, party, and social organizations against the roots of the evil. Life has shown the futility of such attempts. It is no accident that it has been decided to expand sales of brandies, dry wines, sparkling wines, and beer in food stores. People are tired of standing in line for hours on end. But nobody thereby plans to encourage drunkenness. The public attitude to this social vice is straightforward: to conduct an all-out campaign employing legal, medical, and educational measures. Each case of a violation of antialcohol legislation is the subject of exceptional attention.

The other day, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the state of affairs regarding the campaign against drunkenness at the Mytishchi Machine Building Plant. Facts revealed during the preparation of this question required the most serious analysis and fundamental assessment in order to eradicate shortcomings as quickly as possible. And it was no accident that the discussion of the state of affairs at the enterprise was highly critical.

Extract From Plant Factsheet [subhead]

The Moscow Mechanical Plant is the leading enterprise in the Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building's "Metrovagonmash" Production Association. There are 27 shops, 10 major departments, more than 100 different subunits, and 10,000 trade union members at the plant. In the 1st 6 months of this year losses of worktime exceeded 100,000 man-days. Drunkenness is the main cause. [extract ends]

Drinking traditions are firmly established at the plant. Paydays, advances on pay, bonuses, and vacations are an excuse for drinking. Moreover, you can always find an excuse, as the saying goes. What about liquor? There are no problems about that at the enterprise either. Bottles are taken in through entrances, floated on rafts down river by the caseful, and hidden on station platforms. There are instances of homebrew and moonshine actually being produced on plant territory.

Liquor can be bought during worktime. Demand, as is well known, is the result of supply, but it also pushes up prices. Speculation is rife.

Sociological research done at the plant shows that one in three collective members considers the prevailing situation with regard to drunkenness to be impermissible, and many people note that, despite the strict antialcohol laws, people have started drinking more during worktime than they did 3 years ago. Both the moral and material damage is great. In the past 6 months there have been more than 800 cases of people arriving for work drunk, leading to considerable labor productivity losses. Some 1,020 people are kept under observation by the addiction service—of these 486 are chronic alcoholics and 550 have been indicted for drunkenness at work and have had to pay fines totaling R23,840. This money is lost to the family budget and bypasses the children and the domestic finances. Not for nothing is one family in every four at the Mytishchi Machine Building Plant breaking up.

But are fines so great a deterrent? For liquor speculators R50 is a drop in the bucket, they can make it back in a single day; for a head of a household the damage is more serious, but even that will not bring drunkards to their senses—how many shifts have seen gloomy wives and mothers standing outside the plant but failing to get the pay packet from their "breadwinner."

Today it is clear that only if we all pull together can we steady the shaking hand holding the glass. "You earn nothing yourself and you stop our earning—there can be no leniency for you," only this approach can produce positive results. But to do this we need workers to have pride and the enterprise to have prestige, yet at the moment the plant lacks both. Why?

Low levels of technology, obsolete equipment, and, consequently, output considerably inferior to world standards are hardly conducive to prestige. Rush work and irregular working—more than half of the monthly targets are produced in the last 10 days of the month—lead to people being dissatisfied with their work. The shops are dirty, cold in winter and hot in summer, the ventilation does not work, the stores are poorly stocked, and there are not enough showers. Around 3,000 workers work in dust under conditions of high vibration and noise. This is the start of the road to the devaluation of human dignity and indifference toward onself and one's workmates. Can this situation really satisfy anyone? Or have

the administration and social organizations been tolerating a general problem? Such opinions are held. If you kick drunks out there'll be nobody left to work. The plant is currently short of more than 300 people, and overtime and holiday work is in great demand.

It is also said that working people today are supplied with a great deal of negative information and are unsure about tomorrow, which, in conjunction with hard physical work, produces animosity and indifference to oneself and one's colleagues. But can we agree with this? Are there not other examples and enterprises where social ills such as drunkenness have been finally conquered, where work is a pleasure, and where pride in the reputation of the brand name is a reliable barrier to demoralization and excessive license?

Mytishchi too must find the strength to master the situation and prevent the healthy part of the labor collective from being dependent on the deadwood. This was the tone of the discussion at the session, which was admittedly held in circumstances in which the representatives of the plant administration, the presidium members noted, incomprehensibly came to each other's defense.

Extract From Plant Factsheet [subhead]

The enterprise's party organization numbers 1,875 Communists and the Komsomol organization has 927 members. There are 79 people in the labor collective council and 184 volunteer militiamen in the volunteer people's militia. There is a violations prevention commission, a mentors' council, a deputies' group, 26 addiction centers, and 29 people's courts. A sociological research laboratory has been set up. [extract ends]

All levers of the antialcohol campaign have formally been brought into action at the plant. Meetings have been held on the traditional agenda of "Measures To Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism," seminars have been held with the participation of health and law enforcement organ personnel, and there has been a sobriety month. Thirteen people have been expelled from the party for liquor abuse and 19 have received party reprimands and had their party cards endorsed. Orders are issued, tasks are set, and assessments made. But people still drink.

Most of the collective believes that official condemnation of drunkenness is merely pro forma and represents just another reprimand. Educational, medical, economic, and legal measures of influencing people are not comprehensively exploited. Mutual protection also flourishes.

Shop chiefs, foremen, and team leaders themselves set bad examples. Hence the liberal attitude to drunks. Over the last 6 months 12 middle managers and 3 engineering and technical workers have been arrested on plant territory in a state of inebriation. In violation of legislation, shop chiefs and foremen are not being brought to account for failing to put a stop to drunkenness and for dodging direct participation in the campaign against this evil. It was also noted that Yu. Gulko, general director of the association, devotes little attention to questions of asserting a sober way of life at the plant, analyzing the state of affairs, or monitoring the execution of decisions. That is why the administration's proposals to beef up the fines system, close the wine store, organize payment through a savings bank, and increase the circulation of legal literature sounded so unconvincing. It is surprising that the general director, who was elected by the labor collective 18 months ago, has not found it possible to consult with people or to appeal to them for help and support.

Extract From Plant Factsheet [subhead]

It is necessary to to build 50,000 square meters of housing, preschool institutions with 480 places, a medical center, a pioneer camp, a 450-bed hospital, a training combine with a hostel, and a physical fitness complex at the plant by 1991 and to modernize the cultural center.

(Extract from order issued by the minister of heavy, power, and transport machine building). [extract ends]

Normal working and leisure conditions, housing construction, child care, and employment training are all needed in order to overcome the crisis—the situation at the plant cannot be described in any other way.

At the moment the social sphere has been forgotten. The material and technical base of the plant's addiction clinic is not up to existing sanitary norms. Sports facilities are decrepit or being scrapped. The rifle range, which used to be used by around 3,000 people a year, has been closed. The comprehensive "Health" program adopted by the labor collective is not being implemented. Amateur associations, technical creativity, and clubs have all been neglected.

Of course, it would be naive to assume that a chronic alcoholic will be cured by a club or a stadium. But one other thing is clear: Genuine concern for people is never wasted. The moral and psychological climate then becomes easier to shape. We must give people an opportunity to enjoy their life and work, to take pride in their job and their plant, and not drown their dissatisfaction with the bottle.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution notes in particular that the plant should create in its shops, teams, and other structural subunits an atmosphere of intolerance toward each instance of law breaking, rule out cases of cover-ups, and view any case of people arriving at work drunk as an extremely serious occurrence. It is necessary to restructure the consciousness and psychology of the enterprise's workers and employees and to improve relations within the family and in their leisure.

But extracting the enterprise from its alcoholic captivity is not just a task for the collective. The Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building and the Mytishchi Gorispolkom should help in this too. Nobody should sit on the fence any longer.

Further Reportage on 'Opened' Maritime Kray

PM2709141188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[I. Kots report: "Closed Port Opened"]

[Text] Vladivostok—The RSFSR Council of Ministers has abrogated special passes for entry into Maritime Kray.

The special problem reportage "In the Border Zone" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 27 April prompted a flood of readers' responses. The report discussed the inconvenience caused to people—primarily the people of the Far East themselves—by the idiosyncracies of the special pass and passport system operating in the region.

The newspaper item received an official response signed by I. Kalinichenko, deputy chief of staff of the USSR KGB Border Guard Troops:

"The USSR KGB Main Administration of Border Guard Troops has examined the report 'In the Border Zone.' In our opinion, the issues raised in this item are relevant in present conditions and should be resolved.

"For your information, the border zone and border region are established by the USSR Council of Ministers in accordance with the USSR Law 'On the USSR State Border.'

"In connection with the country's current policy of accelerating socioeconomic development, democratizing social relations, and broadening the rights of associations and enterprises, and also considering the many wishes expressed by Soviet citizens, the USSR KGB Main Administration of Border Guard Troops and interested ministries and departments are preparing proposals to reduce the list of territories included in the border zone and simplify the procedure of entry into this zone." I should add at this point that party and soviet bodies in the Maritime Kray have demonstrated an understanding of the importance of the problem and a willingness for constructive action.

And now the RSFSR Council of Ministers has approved the decision that henceforth any citizen of our country can enter Vladivostok freely, without any special pass. A corresponding decision by the krayispolkom lifts restrictions from the maritime cities of Lesozavodsk, Spassk-Dalniy, Ussuriysk, Artem, and a number of other population centers. At the same time, some regions in the kray will remain in the border zone.

According to the Maritime Krayispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Passport Department, from the new year people living in the "opened" cities will not require a special entry in their passport. Henceforth, visitors will not require permission from the militia to make hotel arrangements. The many stages of complex bureaucracy, which always used to accompany the entry of relatives or friends into the region, have now been removed. The passport department has requested that an appeal be made through the newspaper to the leadership of the civil aviation and communications ministries. The fact is that people are still having problems buying tickets—ticket office personnel are unaware of the government decision.

Delays in 'Informals' Group Law Viewed

PM2709141488 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 1

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Igor Virabov under the rubric "In This Column Every Day": "Top Secret?"]

[Text] It has at last become apparent that the provision on voluntary societies and their unions adopted in 1932 by the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars of the RSFSR has become obsolete. A commission to "rejuvenate" the legislative act was convened 8 years ago. By 1983, according to plan, the USSR Ministry of Justice had prepared a new draft. Twice, according to old hands at the department, it was submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers, and twice it was sent back. First it was a draft decree, then a draft law, then a decree again....

In what way it was new and for what reasons the draft was rejected, the public did not know.

But is it necessary at all, this act?

The old one suited the administrative apparatus very well. Unplanned activity and initiative were kept safely in check. There was no provision for unsanctioned expressions of will by the masses, outside the traditional framework. Public organizations had their places in the hierarchical system "according to the tickets they had purchased." "Order" was guaranteed.

But Svetlana Palchik and 120 of her charges from just one Kirovograd special interest club want guarantees of a different kind. As does Sergey Sivkov from a young people's creative society in Perm and the members of more than 30,000 youth amateur societies in the country. Many people I know, and many I have never met.

It was stated from the platform of the 19th party conference and in the resolution of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum that work will begin in the near future in the USSR Supreme Soviet on a number of laws that are needed today, including laws on voluntary

societies, independent public bodies, and other independent organizations. This is the situation: Social protection of initiative and legal guarantees of the activity of genuinely voluntary organizations are vitally necessary to us, as necessary as air. The shortage of oxygen has been felt for a long time....

"This work was completed in principle by December of last year," Aleksey Sergeyevich Suchilin, senior adviser at the All-Union Ministry of Justice, assured me, "but the draft got into the wrong hands...."

"??"

"The 'informal' groups and people like that."

So it seems that everything was "going swimmingly"—and suddenly, that was that! But it was not only the "informals" who were getting agitated. The fate of the draft also interested the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the commission for public initiatives at the Moscow Institute of Culture, and other "unforeseen" audiences.

What now? In whose hands is the draft? Where is it bogged down? I decided to look for it.

Vyacheslav Petrovich Demin, staffer of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "We had the draft a few years ago. Not now, it's in some department or other, I can't say where." Doctor of Juridical Sciences Aron Isakovich Shchiglik, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law: "Of course, I took part in the work on the draft. The commission met at the Ministry of Justice under the leadership of the department chief—Viktor Fedorovich Karyagin. What now—I don't know." Victor Fedorovich Karyagin, in turn, made it clear that the draft law has "gone up" to a higher level, and perhaps there will have to be amendments. "We shall have to wait and see."

We shall, of course. We're used to that. But waiting, in these conditions, does not add to your optimism.

Who drew up the draft? The USSR Ministry of Justice, with the participation of the Institute of State and Law, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Court, the prosecutor's office, the KGB, and the MVD. A clearly defined circle of representatives which could not be invaded by "outsiders." That is only natural when it is a question of "narrow" specialities. But when it comes to "public organizations"—should not the public itself know, at least by sight, the people who are expressing its opinion? And which public organizations have the right to take part?

V.F. Karyagin explains that it is a question of public organizations, of those that have a program, permanent membership, and are under the jurisdiction of an all-union organ.... What do these "informal" groups have to do with it, he says!

Nina Yuryevna Belyayeva, scientific staffer at the Institute of State and Law, clarifies the situation a little: "Basically we do not have a standard definition of a public organization. The draft should make it clear."

No standard definition, and no clear status. And that means it is possible to come up with any convenient interpretation, according to the changing situation. And the resolution of the issues that are trickiest for public associations remains vague. According to N.Yu. Belyayeva, in the course of the discussion of the draft it was pointed out that it ignores such important political rights of voluntary societies as the right to initiate legislation and nominate candidate deputies, as well as questions of material, economic, and publishing activity....

Nina Yuryevna, incidentally, herself expressed the desire to take part in the commission's work. It is hard to refuse a staffer of the Institute of State and Law—you would need a good reason. But who else among representatives of the "non-nomenklatura" public has that right?

I was unable to see the draft. The time for access to it has not yet arrived. And that is probably why, after the publication of an interview with N.Yu. Belyayeva in one of the central newspapers was mentioned in conversation, V.F. Karyagin expressed himself forcefully to the effect that the Institute of State and Law had no right to talk about the draft. A pun? [on "pravo," "law," in the institute's title, and "pravo," "right"] Or is he talking about some special right—an internal departmental right, specific interests that he would like to protect against encroachments by outsiders?

Yes, the democratization of many aspects of life has become perceptible today. And at the same time there is a reinterpretaiton of the processes taking place in society. Today it has at last become possible to adopt a whole series of long-awaited laws, as was said at the party conference. But the need for these laws did not arise today, or even yesterday. And many drafts were being drawn up, agreed, and amended—in accordance with the plan for legislative work—long ago, from the time of the notorious seventies. How have these invisible drafts changed in line with our present-day positions? I am not eager to accept the skeptics' fears. But...it is not only out of reach, but out of sight. The departments lack the determination to open up "official secrets." Tasting the "forbidden fruit," what if we get out of control?

How much longer must the public stand with its hand outstretched? We are talking about the adoption of normative acts, in particular the law on voluntary societies, which directly affects our constitutional rights. Is it possible to build a socialist rule-of-law state while hiding

from the public behind seven seals? Whose interests is the law supposed to protect, anyway? Remember: The party conference resolution "On Combating Bureaucracy" insists on the exceptionally great importance of creating a single system of public and state control under the jurisdiction of elected organs. On the one hand, more effective control by the soviets, and on the other, the strengthening of public control. And not only at the stage of the adoption and implementation of new laws, but also during their drafting.

Let us imagine this option: A public enterprise group (not the "usual" representatives, but people elected openly, with glasnost) participates in the drafting and discussion of a draft at the very first stage, and on a basis of parity with the specialists. Perhaps that will make it possible to "launch" a mechanism for the protection of rights that will ensure the equality of the sides and the opportunity to dispute the narrow departmental view, and if necessary to submit alternative options for general discussion?

As you can see, many questions arise. And chief among them—shall we "wait and see"? Or shall we exercise our right to speak and be heard?

..."The law—I am dumb before the law," Pavel Ivanovich Chichikov [character in Gogol's "Dead Souls"] once said. But since we have recognized that the law has become well and truly dilapidated, let us agree that Chichikovian "dumbness" has nothing in common with what we call glasnost.

Further Reportage on Churbanov Trial
LD2709163488 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikhita Demidov:

The presiding judge at the trial of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy interior minister of the USSR, and a number of former senior militia officials from Central Asian Uzbekistan remains imperturbably calm during the proceedings and almost never interrupts defendants giving testimony.

Judge Mikhail Marov lets them talk it out even when they veer off course. Today, however, he had to cut Churbanov short, telling him: "Don't forget you're in the dock."

After setting forth his position yesterday on the charges presented against him, Churbanov refused to give any further testimony. And the law gives him the right to do so.

But the trial is continuing and questions had to be put to Churbanov today again to clarify some points.

He responded with this kind of remarks: "I already told you this yesterday," "you have my written testimony and you're well familiar with it, so I'm not going to repeat anything," "I already refused to answer this question yesterday and I won't answer it today either."

Finally, Churbanov told the prosecutor in reply to a question: "So you and I started an incomprehensible altercation again."

That was where Marov moved in: "Nobody is going to allow you, Churbanov, to altercate. Don't forget you're in the dock."

It really seemed at times that Churbanov had forgotten where he was and that he was seeing himself in the uniform of a colonel-general with all the decoration.

But he became quieter after the presiding judge's comment and began to answer questions more or less calmly, if he chose to reply at all.

This is what his lawyer Andrey Makarov of the Moscow City Bar had to say on this score: "Taking advantage of his right offered to him by law, Churbanov declined to give testimony. He categorically denies any bribe-taking, although he admits having received significant sums of money from Uzbekistan's party leaders.

"He asserts that he doesn't see them as bribes since, in his words, he has never offered any protection or assistance in return for the money."

The Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court yesterday turned down a request from Makarov for the case to be sent back for extra investigation.

The court today began questioning Tashtemir Makhramanov, a former deputy interior minister of Uzbekistan.

Further on Ovechkin Hijacking Trial, Sentencing
PM2709104488 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 4

[Correspondent G. Sapronov report: "The Verdict"]

[Text] Irkutsk—Two of the Ovechkins were on trial: Olga, who is 28, and 17-year-old Igor. But there were 11 of them on the hijacked plane. Four—Sergey, Ulyana, Tatyana, and Mikhail—were exempted from criminal responsibility. They are still children, between the ages of 9 and 14. The five others, the mother Ninel Sergeyevna Ovechkina and the older sons Vasiliy, Oleg, Dmitriy, and Aleksandr, are dead.

The 18 volumes of the court file contain the testimonies of dozens of witnesses and victims and a large number of expert reports and other documents necessary to the

investigation, enabling us today to reconstruct accurately to the minute the events of the tragedy played out on 8 March this year on board the TU-154 on the Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad route.

...Unfailing obedience of the younger to the elder, and of everyone to the mother, was the immutable rule for the members of this close-knit family. On the one hand, there was no unruly behavior, they lived harmoniously, and no one could move a muscle, as the saying goes, without the mother's permission. On the other hand, no one except the mother had the right to an individual personality: If you want to be musicians, you can all be musicians, and the girls can run the business side, like me. The mother did not even try to push the children beyond the limited circle of the home and garden—to improve themselves, to be better educated and spiritually richer. On the contrary, the family fortress was made ever stronger and more impregnable, protected from the outside world by a dense palisade of petty bourgeois, narrow-minded habits. In this fortress, the world that the mother, with her mercenary philosophy, had built and nurtured in their souls was devoutly preserved. A world in which there was no room for books (none were to be found in the house), movies (she did not allow it), guests and neighbors (they never came), friends and kind acquaintances (they tried not to acquire any)—everything was measured solely by the income brought into the house.

At one time Olga wanted to make a life of her own, and Vasiliy announced once that he wanted to marry—they were forbidden to do so. The sister was the manager and producer, the eldest brother was the leader of the family dixieland band—everything would collapse without them.

...They hit upon a way out of the impasse—to leave the motherland and find themselves in an instant in the land where people pay you thousands for strumming the strings, where there are such fine concert halls and sonorous instruments, where only recently they were so well-received, and therefore where they will be well-received again. They will give interviews only for money, concerts only for big money, they will live in splendid hotels, buy cars, marry very rich foreign girls. This is not the product of my imagination. That is precisely how the elder Ovechkins and their mother reasoned, discussing the hijacking of a plane at a family council and dreaming about their future life. The younger ones were not initiated into the plans: It would mean nothing to them, in our family it is all for one and one for all, and the whole minus one is not the whole. "Either we all escape, or we all die," the mother declared.

Olga was "anti" until the very end. She even tried to thwart the expedition by not coming home for the night of 5-6 March. She was to fly to Leningrad in the morning to obtain tickets there for the flight to Irkutsk. That was the original plan: to fly to Leningrad on 8 March, transfer for the return flight, and only then demand that the crew fly abroad. The brothers and mother chewed Olga out, bought new tickets, and did not take their eyes off her until the plane took off. She lived for her brothers, and had to pay their debts.

They prepared carefully for their escape and the hijacking.

It is, of course, naive to assume that all this could be done without the help of outsiders. It is another question why none of these "helpers" even wondered why the brothers (who, according to one of the neighbors, never held so much as a catapult in their hands) suddenly needed rifles, powder, and strange metal canisters of some kind. But I myself, in my quest for an answer to this question, realized I had been naive when I heard the witnesses' evidence in court. According to their logic, there is nothing to wonder about, if you can manufacture the thread and stopper for explosive devices for a bottle of vodka.... "What about it? That's okay. That's how it is," V.I. Yakovlev, a lathe operator at the oblast potrebsoyuz, stated in court, without a trace of embarrassment. Another "good" man, S. Trushkov, a former production training foreman, took R30 for turning metal canisters. Why wonder, when A.V. Prusha, a doctor by profession, after obtaining rifles and unlawfully selling them to the brothers, had a "cut" of R150 from the affair. And, in the bargain, he did not refuse to buy three carpets, a piano, and even children's toys from the Ovechkins on the cheap. Nor did M. Shestakov—a fitter at the Melnikovskiy poultry unit and the band's sound operator—wonder about it, when he helped the brothers to buy powder and load cartridges for "hunting," although he had seen sawed-off guns in their house and knew that nobody hunts at that time of year.

All the same, the tragedy might not have happened if the Irkutsk airport workers had fulfilled the elementary requirements for the inspection of passengers and baggage.

"I shook it, thinking something would rattle, but nothing rattled or jingled in the double bass"—that is how former inspection service worker G.I. Sergeyeva explained to the court how she carried out her official duties. The cost of this professional bungling is well known. Criminal proceedings have been brought against Sergeyeva.

But what has changed in 6 months in the work of the inspection service at Irkutsk airport, or at the country's other airports? In Irkutsk they have replaced nearly all the obsolete equipment. And that is about all. Nothing has changed in the system of training inspection service workers.

It is no accident that in the course of the investigation of this criminal case the USSR general prosecutor made a submission to the USSR minister of civil aviation, noting that one reason for such events in the air is the "low standard of labor and technical discipline among

workers at inspection points. In 1987-1988 militia and inspection service workers at Alma-Ata airport failed to detect five firearms and ammunition, at Pavlodar there wes a pistol, a grenade, and a knife, and at Tselinograd and Kokchetav there were two pistols and two grenades."

As well as clarifying the reasons for the Ovechkins' hijacking of the plane, another equally important question was raised during the court session: Could the crew actually have acceded to the gangsters' demands in the air? Let me remind you: The Ovechkins demanded to be flown to London, under threat of blowing up the plane, but as a result of negotiations with them by flight engineer I.D. Stupakov they were persuaded that there was not enough fuel to get to London, refueling was necessary, and the plane would make a landing for that purpose at the nearest Finnish airport. In fact the plane landed successfully at an airfield near Vyborg.

Particularly heated debates on the topic: Could the plane have flown to London or not, and did the crew behave correctly or incorrectly, flared up in the breaks during the court session. We journalists talked about it at length with Ye.A. Skuratov, deputy chief of the East Siberian Civil Aviation Administration, and we were convinced that it could not have flown to London.

At the time the plane was hijacked, there was 1 hour of flying time to go to reach Leningrad, and only 5.5 tonnes of fuel on board—the exact navigation reserve necessary to make it possible, in the event of nonacceptance by Leningrad, to reach the nearest reserve airport. With that fuel reserve, the crew had no right, and indeed was virtually unable, to cross the border.

In the existing conditions, the crew made the only correct decision.

But what attitude the "ground" adopted to the situation developing on board and the preparations it made—that is another question. The crew warned the airport ground services that the gangsters were watching carefully through the portholes, and asked for maximum observance of decoy conditions.

We already know how the so-called "hijack team" operated and what were the consequences of all this. Three people died. Another 35 were injured, 2 of them gravely. The plane was entirely burned out (a material loss of R1.4 million).

Yes, the Ovechkins set fire to the plane, but before that, they had been threatening to blow it up for 3 whole hours. Nonetheless, at the crucial moment the ground services had only one fire engine at hand, and even that was not immediately given the order to extinguish the fire. In effect it was too late by then for the fire fighters to do anything. The alarm reached the Vyborg military fire unit when the plane was already on fire—the vehicles arrived an hour later, in time to see the charred remnants.

The crew several times asked permission to take the plane to the end of the runway, but this was not granted. It was this fact that later made it impossible to land a TU-134 with the professional hijack team on board. Their plane was forced to land at Pulkovo, and the team was transferred to helicopters. That lost hour was all too costly.

Yes, the crew did everything possible and necessary, in accordance with instructions and commands from the "ground." And all the same, after carefully studying the recording of the crew's conversations with the ground services and the victims' evidence, I am convinced that the four armed men did not, after all, fulfill their human duty to the utmost in the situation that had developed. At the last moment they gave way to panic. They failed to help the two unarmed girls who spent the whole 3 hours alone with crazy armed gangsters. Even when the plane was already on fire the pilots did not help to evacuate the passengers who were suffocating in the smoke, but climbed out through the cockpit hatch, having managed to put on smoke masks beforehand, but forgetting to bring from the plane the file containing all the flying documents, while the navigator did not even remember his personal pistol—he left it behind in the plane.

Many people who were on board the plane suffered not only physical but also moral wounds, and nearly everyone suffered material damage (personal possessions and money were lost in the fire). It is now 6 months later, but Aeroflot has not yet fully repaid the victims' material losses.

And another thing: the reaction of many of the people assembled in the courtroom. An elderly woman was sitting next to me at one of the sessions. They were questioning 9-year-old Sergey Ovechkin. Answering questions about his dead mother and his elder brothers and seeing his relatives Olga and Igor on trial, the boy started to cry. "He's trying to make them feel sorry for him, the little creep," my neighbor whispered viciously.

And then there are the letters sent to the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR general prosecutor:

"These carrion should not be tried, they should be tied to the treetops by their feet and torn to pieces for their vile deed." (I. Maksimova)

From Mikhail Ovechkin's evidence: "My brothers realized they were surrounded, and decided to shoot themselves. First Dima shot himself through the chin. Then Vasiliy and Oleg approached Sasha and stood close to the explosive device, and Sasha ignited it. When the explosion happened, none of the boys was hurt, except

that Sasha's pants caught fire, as well as the edging of a chair, and the porthole glass blew out. A fire started. Then Sasha took the sawed-off gun from Oleg and shot himself. Then Oleg took his gun out of Sasha's hands and shot himself too. When Oleg fell, mom asked Vasya to shoot her. Vasya took the gun from Dima's hands and shot mom in the temple. When mom fell, he told us to run away, and shot himself."

How many more victims are needed in this bloody drama?

There was a family, but it is no more. There are orphaned children doomed to live the rest of their lives with that terrible burden of memory. I have no intention of retrospectively justifying those who died. They themselves determined the degree of their guilt, according to their conscience. The court imposed on Olga and Igor a punishment that is severe in itself. Soon Olga is to become a mother in her place of imprisonment, while Igor is to spend his golden days of youth in a colony. [Moscow TASS in English at 1154 GMT on 23 September carries a report on the sentencing of the hijackers. TASS reports that the Leningrad regional court "fully proved the guilt of Olga Ovechkin, 28, and Igor Ovechkin, 17, and condemned them to six and eight years in prison respectively."] After all this, what shape will their fate take? Misha and Serezha are now in the full care of the state—they are studying at a boarding school for musical pupils. Ulyana and Tatyana are living in Cheremkhovo with their elder sister Lyudmila's family, and going to school.

Let us be merciful toward them. After all, we are human too.

Today, now that the verdict has been delivered, let us think about the many questions this tragic story poses for us. Not in order to root out anyone else's guilt.... But in order to look at ourselves through the focus of this drama, so as to ensure that it never happens to anyone again.

And one last thing that gives me personally no peace. In the sketch "The Jazz Band," published in the March issue of SOBESEDNIK, I wrote: "And what kind of maternal happiness is that: to hear young Serezhenka saying the monstrous words: 'Mom! Don't blow up the plane, let's go and shoot people instead!'"

I retract those words. It has been investigated and proved that those words were not spoken. Serezha, wounded, only wept and implored her not to blow up the plane. These words, which I picked up and did not fully check in the confusion of the first days after the tragedy, have become a lifelong shame for Sergey. After all, he has to live. And be a man.

Brezhnev-Era Corruption Case Recalled

PM2709143188 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 23 September in its Morning Edition carries at the foot of page 1 under the headline "But That Was Only the Beginning..." the following boxed note printed in boldface:

"The story we are about to tell happened just 1 year after L.I. Brezhnev became first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The country was living with great expectations. People believed that changes in the higher echelons would inevitably lead to profound and beneficial transformations in all spheres of life, that the country's advance would be given a new boost.

"Today we know that the hopes linked with L.I. Brezhnev's name did not materialize. Instead of the expected acceleration, there was a steady retreat from the course mapped out by the 20th and 22d Party Congresses, and the country that had awakened was slowly but inexorably put back to sleep again. Any attempts to disrupt the calm were cut short. Perhaps the very first victims were the press and glasnost—the main disturbers of the peace which ultimately degenerated into stagnation.

"The way this was done can be seen from the story of Arkadiy Sakhnin's feature 'During and After the Voyage,' published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 July 1965.

"Commissions were set up under the Zhovtnevyy party raykom in Odessa, the Odessa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, the State Committee for the Fishing Industry under the USSR Council of Ministers, the trade union central committee, and other bodies. An inspection was also carried out by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. The story was also studied by the Central Committee Propaganda Department. The issue was finally decided at a session of the party Central Committee Secretariat chaired by L.I. Brezhnev himself. Essentially, it was a local and commonplace case that reached such a high level. The only exceptional thing about it was that it was publicized and generated tremendous public response. See for yourself how the story developed.

"Arkadiy Sakhnin's feature 'But That Was Only the Beginning...' appears on page 3."

On page 3, IZVESTIYA carries the 4,200-word first installment of the Sakhnin feature in question. It opens with a lengthy description of how Sakhnin was informed of misdeeds and abuses committed by Captain Solyanik, general director of the "Sovetskaya Ukraina" whaling factory ship, and attempted to interview Solyanik, who, according to the author, "in an even tone, without any special emphasis, sort of naturally and incidentally, spoke of how well he was regarded by major state and party figures, mentioning the high regard in which he was held by his namesake Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin

and the fact that Mikoyan's granddaughters never left his company whenever he visited them at the dacha. He also added a few other members of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium to the list."

Sakhnin says that, after discussion with Yuriy Voronov, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA at the time, it was decided to go ahead and publish his report. He continues his IZVESTIYA article with an extract from the earlier report detailing the inhuman conditions on Solyanik's ship.

The publication of the article marked the beginning of a process of sessions and meetings to discuss the case, starting with a session of the Zhovtnevyy Raykom Bureau, which decided that Solyanik "deserves the strictest party punishment" but, since a commission had been set up by the Obkom Bureau to investigate, "the Raykom Bureau's opinion should be submitted at a session of the Odessa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom Bureau."

This brought into the case Odessa Obkom First Secretary M. Sinitsa, a crony of Solyanik's. Sakhnin declares that "the entire city was subject to his merciless diktat." The author writes about Sinitsa's arbitrary rule and abuses of power while in office, and goes on to describe the proceedings at a meeting of the party and economic aktiv held to discuss Solyanik's case, and a session of the investigating commission set up by the obkom, which was told by D. Korotchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium at the time: "The article is a lie and we will not let you insult Solyanik. Bear this in mind."

The eventual obkom resolution, sent on to the CPSU Central Committee, whitewashed Solyanik, and the obkom commission added a note to the effect that "the article was politically damaging to our motherland."

Minister A. Ishkov, chairman of the State Committee for the Fishing Industry, and his deputy Rytov then joined in the battle against Sakhnin and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA which "was also being waged at higher levels."

Sakhnin quotes S. Vologzhanin, senior inspector from the Party Control Committee at the time, who was told by Party Control Committee Chairman Serdyuk that "Comrade Podgornyy expressed dissatisfaction with your work" and that "Comrade Suslov shares the same view."

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 September 1988 Morning Edition continues publication of Sakhnin's article, and carries, again at the foot of page 1 under the headline "But That Was Only the Beginning...," the following boxed note printed in boldface:

"Today we conclude the article which we started publishing in yesterday's IZVESTIYA.

"Let us remind readers what it is about. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 July 1965 published Arkadiy Sakhnin's feature 'During and After the Voyage'—about a member of the 'powers that be,' Capt A. Solyanik, director general of a whaling flotilla. That article, containing thoroughly verified facts of gross abuses and blatant illegalities on the flotilla's ships, prompted an immediate and crushing response by Solyanik's protectors in high places. The report by the Odessa party obkom said that 'the article was politically damaging to our motherland,' and later on this report and others like it provided the basis for a discussion of the feature by a session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat chaired by L.I. Brezhnev himself....

"Events around the feature on Solyanik in the young people's newspaper are an example of how zones beyond criticism were created and how an end was put to all attempts to disrupt the peace of the powers that be, a peace which degenerated into stagnation for the entire vast country.

"The conclusion of Arkadiy Sakhnin's feature 'But That Was Only the Beginning...' follows on page 3."

The 3,200-word concluding part of Sakhnin's article appears on page 3. He describes the examination of Solyanik's case by the Party Control Committee, and a meeting with its chairman, Serdyuk which "made it clear—he had no doubts of Solyanik's guilt, but he was being virtually smashed by the stance taken by Podgornyy and Suslov. He could not understand anything. Outstanding party figures and secretaries of its Central Committee—he had boundless faith in them. But they do know the truth. And how about Shelest, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee? He knows it even better. How can life carry on if things like this can happen?"

The case was also examined by the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, and Sakhnin quotes a memorandum in support of his case against Solyanik, signed by "A. Yakovlev, deputy chief of department and now member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Sector Chief T. Kuprikov (now, sadly, deceased)."

Ultimately the matter was examined by a session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat chaired by Brezhnev and attended by "N. Podgornyy, M. Suslov, A. Shelepin, P. Demichev, Yu. Andropov, B. Ponomarev, F. Kulakov, D. Ustinov, and A. Rudakov." Sakhnin describes the proceedings at that session in some detail, quoting from Brezhnev's "lengthy speech" in which he tried to placate Solyanik, the excuses given by Solyanik, and the statements by Podgornyy in support of Solyanik.

The remainder of the article describes the subsequent fate of the main protagonists, including KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA chief editor Voronov, who "is now chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department."

Sakhnin ends by writing about his "complex feelings" and "confusion" on leaving the Central Committee building after the Secretariat session, saying: "How could Brezhnev and the other Central Committee secretaries silently listen to and actually back a lie, sacrificing the cause, honor, justice, and truth for the sake of some interests and goals which we do not know and cannot understand? But that was only the beginning."

Role of Islam, Muslims in USSR Discussed

PM2809083188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by R. Guseynov: "Beneath the Green Banner. Reflections on the Role of Islam in the Life of Contemporary Society"]

[Text] Letters in the editorial office mailbag vary from those written during school break on a scrap page of an exercise book, to the product of years-long deliberations. But each of them is an expression of emotions, of people's desire to have their say, of problems perturbing man. There are thoughtful as well as doubting letters, and there are also letters presenting the writer's stance sharply and unambiguously, as if insisting that there can be no other viewpoint. Then there is this letter, written on official stationery with a state seal embossed in gold, which of course reflects not only its writer's viewpoint but also the stance of a considerable number of people. It cannot remain unanswered. Its great length makes it impossible to publish in full. We reprint it with abbreviations which, in our view, do not change the meaning and tone of the letter sent in by an ambassador:

"To the chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA:

"We read with intense interest the material published by your newspaper, especially articles and reports which help us understand the vital problems and processes of development occurring in the Soviet Union today.

"Unfortunately, your newspaper published on 20 March 1988 an article entitled 'Where Do They Come From, the Submissive Ones?' and subtitled 'Why the Influence of Islam Is So Steadfast in the Life of Many Young People.'

"The article's author was your Tashkent correspondent Mr Alimov.

"In the article in question he encroached upon the religion of Islam, distorting the essence of this great religion which is professed by almost 1 billion Muslims in 50 countries of the world, most of which maintain relations with the USSR on the basis of mutual respect and noninterference in one another's affairs.

"We, your Muslim friends, who have an opportunity to live in your country and to come to know you, always strive to expand friendly relations with the USSR peoples who are our kinsmen and brothers in Islam, proceeding from the conviction that different social systems and religions are not obstacles to improving and deepening friendly relations, provided we show respect for each other's religions and world outlook....

"We are at a loss to understand the reasons and purpose for which the journalist calls upon Komsomol members (Young Communists) to take a stand against Muslims and against religious figures of Islam, even though he must be aware that many young Komsomol members have mothers, fathers, and brothers who profess different religious beliefs.

"Could it be that the journalist wishes to set these young people against their own families?

"Article 52 of the Soviet Constitution adopted in 1977 guarantees the right to freedom of conscience for all citizens of the USSR and prohibits hostile propaganda leading to incitement of hatred and ill feelings among people based on religious differences.

"How is it possible to make a nonsensical claim that many Muslim mothers are accustomed to living in submission and therefore bring their children up in a spirit of submission? I am at a loss to understand what the journalist wishes to say.

"Surely, he cannot mean the mothers of Muslims all over the world? Or could it be that he means just some mothers in some countries? Our Muslim mothers have never been submissive and they have brought us up perfectly well; their sacred duty has always been to inculcate in us honesty, fairness, and courage, and they have always stood by us, ensuring that we acquire a fitting education.

"In his unfair article about Islam's attitude toward women, the journalist distorts Islam's position by claiming that Islam infringes women's dignity, and he depicts Islam as a servile religion, the observance of Islamic religious rites by Muslims in the Soviet Union as something terrible, and the Islamic laws as 'iron-hard' (I am at a loss to understand how he came to pick this word, 'iron-hard'). The journalist expresses regret that 'the religion of Islam is stronger than before in family life in the Central Asian republics.' Islam has always exalted women as much as men. Proof of this can be seen in many suras of the Koran.

"The journalist ought to refer to the V.I. Lenin Library, the All-Union Library of Foreign Literature, and the USSR Oriental Studies Institute to find out what Muslims are and what Islam is.

"Being ambassador of the state which has the honor of heading the Islamic Conference Organization at present, I ask you, proceeding from the policy of glasnost and restructuring being implemented in the friendly Soviet society, to publish my letter....

"With great respect,

"'Abd al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Kuwait to the USSR"

We have thus honored the request. We refer our readers to the article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in March so that they can see for themselves: It does not contain any "insults" or "distortions" of Islam at all. However, it is obviously necessary to discuss the role played by Islam in the life of contemporary society and attitudes toward the faithful in different countries. This was also requested by many of our readers in their responses to the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article.

Their letters cited numerous facts confirming the newspaper's stance and testifying to frequent instances in different regions of the country of Soviet laws being broken and human dignity humiliated under the pretext of faith. Among them are the letters by S. Lutfulloyev from Chimkent, T Peruashev from Chirchik, S. Ushakhov from the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, S. Khaydarov from Andizhan, L. Aichayev from the Buryat ASSR, S. Gadzhiyev from Makhachkala, and B. Selimov from Dushanbe.

Many of the letters sent to the editorial office describe human tragedies. It is especially painful to read of really young people, only just beginning their lives, falling victim to fanaticism and even being cynically bought and sold for money.

The changes occurring in the world could not have bypassed Islam. Today it is no longer a narrow-minded, dogmatic religious teaching. The face of Islam has undergone significant changes, but its essence has certainly remained unchanged.

In the first place, Muslim leaders cannot ignore historical factors of modern times, such as the national liberation movement, the penetration of the ideas of socialism into Muslim countries, and the achievements of science and technology. There is an obvious need to adapt Islam's religious world outlook and its social and moral ideals to the spirit of the times and to the ideas and needs of the contemporary faithful. But it must be said right away that these changes will depend largely on the political orientation of ruling forces in Muslim countries and on the influence of the Muslim clergy. Furthermore, theologians are forced to take into account the balance of democratic and reactionary forces within each individual country.

The bulk of Islam's followers in our country inhabit the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan in the northern Caucasus, Tataria, and Bashkiria, and there are Muslims living in a number of RSFSR oblasts and in Georgia and Armenia.

What sort of life do Muslims lead in our country? What problems perturb them and what are their worries? Listening to some radio voices which tirelessly broadcast in the languages of USSR peoples, one can hear mention of the "lack of freedom of conscience" in our country and the "persecution of the faithful."

Various radio voices would very much like to fan religious-nationalistic moods even if only among some citizens of the USSR. It is no accident that bourgeois propaganda's most popular themes center on claims about an alleged ban on Muslims fasting and praying in our country, about their "artificial isolation" from their fellow-believers abroad, and about Soviet Muslims supposedly being in opposition to the existing system.

Former Nazi accomplice Baymirza Khait, who enjoyed long-time fame as an "expert" on the Soviet East, claimed in the journal of the World Islamic League that "Muslims have been left without trained religious leaders" in the USSR, that "mosques and madrasas [Muslim religious schools] have been closed down," and that "Islamic religious life (prayer, Ramadan, ceremonies, zakat [annual alms rate payable by all Muslims], sacrifices, and pilgrimage to Mecca) is prohibited by law, just like religious weddings based on shari'a." M. Khuseyn, another anti-Sovietist, writes that "the Muslim religion is the most persecuted of all in the USSR." In his words, this takes the form of destruction of mosques and ritual objects.

Special mention must be made of attempts to depict the Soviet Union as an adversary of Islamic states. The annals of Soviet foreign policy, ever since the first days after the Great October, speak for themselves. The Soviet state's attitude toward the Islamic world is demonstrated by one of the historical documents of the Great October Socialist Revolution—the address "To All Working Muslims of Russia and the East." The address, which proclaimed the basic Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, said in particular: "Organize your national life freely and without hindrance. You are entitled to this. Know that your rights, like the rights of all of Russia's peoples, are protected by the entire might of the revolution and its organs, the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants Deputies."

Having proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of Russia's peoples and the abolition of all privileges and restrictions in any form, the Soviet power called on the Muslim peoples to support the socialist revolution. For the first time in history, working people in the Muslim East were addressed in a language befitting men and citizens. That was the language of October, the language of Lenin's party.

As a matter of fact, USSR citizens—nonbelievers and believers alike—enjoy the totality of rights and freedoms granted by socialist democracy. Islam comes second in terms of the number of followers (after Russian Orthodoxy) among the more than 40 religions and religious denominations existing in the Soviet Union. In order to meet their needs, Muslims in the USSR have several hundred major central mosques and thousands of district and rural mosques. An additional 86 mosques were registered in the years following the adoption of the USSR Constitution (1977). The religious life of the followers of Islam is regulated by four spiritual administrations. They publish lunar calendars every year. There have been six editions of the Koran, books of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, Muslim culture albums, and the journal MUSULMANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA is regularly published in six languages. Clergy cadres are trained in Islamic education establishments inside the country and in shari'a faculties at Islamic universities in Arab countries. Mosques make broad use of the opportunity, granted by law, to collect voluntary contributions from the faithful. The revenues of religious organizations are not liable to any taxes.

Muslim organizations operating in our country actively participate in the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples. They have contacts with fellow-believers in almost 80 countries of the world, invite dozens of delegations of Muslim figures from abroad to visit the USSR each year, and themselves regularly travel abroad in delegations to make reciprocal visits.

It is typical that the U.S. ruling circles have different perceptions of Islam's role in different political situations. When appropriating funds to support the opposition forces being sent into Afghanistan from Pakistan's territory, they praise them as genuine defenders of Islam. But when the subject turns to the revolution in Iran, the White House uses different words, accusing Muslims of fanaticism and cruelty.

A whole series of Islamic scientific research centers and organizations are actively studying the position of believers in the socialist community countries. Leading positions among them are occupied by the Cairo University Academy of Islamic Studies, the Institute for the Study of Islam in Pakistan, and the Muslim Minorities Institute at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Jeddah. The last one deserves special mention. Its anti-Soviet and anticommunist orientation is clearly defined in its program, which points out that "the institute deals with questions concerning millions of Muslims living in a hostile environment, including Turkestan, and its main objective is to struggle against anti-Islamic trends and primarily against communism."

This institute's journal eagerly publishes material by anti-Sovietists from Western countries pouring slander on Muslims in the Soviet Union.

I think that the goal of such a policy is quite eloquently revealed in the statement by J. Dulles, ferocious enemy of communism: "Religious beliefs in oriental countries are deeply rooted and are distinguished by many valuable characteristics. They cannot be reconciled with communist atheism and materialism. Thanks to this, a common purpose is emerging between us and them, and our task is to pinpoint this common purpose and develop it."

I recall a meeting with a Lebanese student who traveled to the city of Braunschweig just to meet Soviet young people visiting the FRG. He made no secret of the fact that he was a member of the United Organization of Muslim Students in Europe. We knew that this organization was actively used by the "Muslim Brotherhood" for their propaganda purposes. The young Lebanese had never visited the USSR or other socialist countries, but his knowledge of the "position of Muslims" under socialism was distinguished by a mixture of the most virulent attacks by Western propaganda and Islamic clerical circles.

A / debate or conversation can be of interest provided the sides are prepared for it and are familiar with the problem being discussed. Our adversary lacked this preparedness, but we nevertheless decided to invite him to join us on our bus, and he spent the whole day with us. This was probably a very serendipitous decision. The conversations and at times fierce arguments, the participation in concerts, and the meetings with German friends helped him, if not to totally change his viewpoint, then at least to reflect on the fact that Muslims in the USSR evidently do not suffer as much or lack as many rights as the West claims.

...No 7, Vypolzov Lane. A central mosque is sited in this quiet Moscow district, not far from Peace Prospekt. An attractive, bright, green three-story building, with a golden crescent on top of its minaret. Ravil Gaynutdinov, preaching imam and one of the spiritual leaders of Moscow Muslims, kindly agreed to receive us there.

Ravil is still under 30 years of age, dressed in a modern suit and a neatly knotted necktie. This mosque is often visited, in addition to Soviet citizens, by students from Arab countries, diplomats, tourists, and religious figures.

I asked Ravil to talk about mutual relations between the state and the Muslim faithful. One often reads in foreign sources or hears it said in broadcasts by various voices beamed to the Soviet Union that Muslims in our country supposedly led a much better life before the revolution.

"The Spiritual Administration of Russia's Muslims was established by a decree signed by Catherine II in 1798," R. Gaynutdinov said. "Three more spiritual administrations came into being in 1943-1944, and they all exist to this day. If any comparisons were to be made, it would

be more correct to speak of the situation of all Muslims then and now. Only a blind person would fail to see the favorable changes which have occurred in their position since then."

"Are there many young people in your congregation?"

"Yes, quite a few, especially recently. They are interested not only in the rituals themselves but also in the history of religion. Quite a few wish to enroll in Islamic spiritual education establishments. I think that young people in our time—with all the talk about declining morals and spreading drug addiction, alcoholism, and other vices—are drawn to Islam, just as to other religions, by the striving for peace, purity, morality, patience, friendship, and mutual understanding. This is what the Koran teaches."

"I would not like to get into a discussion on world philosophy issues with you, even though I do not agree with everything. Let me say just this. Iranian mullahs presented adolescents and children, who died in their thousands in the Iran-Iraq war, with symbolical keys to paradise molded in plastic. Does Allah need such sacrifices and such death?"

"What you are saying is terrible and monstrous. Muslims in the Soviet Union condemn such a policy, when children become the victims of some leaders' plans and intentions. As regards the 'keys to paradise,' this practice is contrary to the teaching of Islam. None of us living on earth is in a position to know or decide where a dead person will go—to paradise or to hell.

"As regards us, the Muslim faithful living in the USSR, we—like all Soviet citizens—live the same life as our people, sharing their needs, concerns, and deeds. Each member of our congregation works, unless he is a pensioner, and we call on them to work conscientiously and honestly and to perform their duty. Restructuring could not have bypassed us; we sense it and we wish it success."

...While this article was being prepared for publishing and the author was pondering a suitable comment on the conversation with Moscow's preaching imam, news of a prayer came... from orbit in outer space. The first Afghan cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, stepping on board the "Mir" orbital station, read in Arabic a sura of thanks from the Koran about charity and love for one's neighbor.

"Does the fact that the Afghan cosmonaut is a religious person hinder the fulfillment of the flight program?" This was the question journalists asked of Lieutenant General V. Shatalov, chief of the cosmonaut training center.

"We are primarily interested in a cosmonaut's professional training," the general replied. "We believe that religion absorbed with his mother's milk will give a cosmonaut confidence in his strength."

Earthquake Damage in Gorno-Badakhshan Detailed

LD2809100188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0912 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Khorog, 28 Sep (TASS)—The inhabitants of mountain regions in the Pamirs are still in difficult circumstances after a severe earthquake. Earth tremors continue even today, having disturbed the peaceful sleep of the inhabitants of many settlements in Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast in Tajikistan (Soviet republic in Central Asia) on the night of 25-26 September.

The earthquake left behind a wide trail of destruction. The most damage was caused by a force six [not further specified] earth tremor, the epicenter of which struck Khorog, the administrative center of Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast. Akhzmamad Gulmamadov, member of the republican government commission working here and chairman of the Gorno-Badakhshan Oblispolkom, told a TASS correspondent that more than R2 million worth of damage was caused to Khorog and its subarban region alone. Six schools and 465 homes, hospitals, clubs, and libraries were destroyed. Telephone and telegraph lines were put out of action. Hundreds of mountain families in other settlements in the West Pamirs also are homeless. Fortunately, no one was killed.

Economic

Observer Views Ways To Curb Price Increases

PM2709135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS observer B. Grishchenko "Commercial Review": "The Contract Is Not a Conspiracy"]

[Text] State orders, which have been condemned by so many people, look set to become one of the means of combating rising prices for goods and services on the domestic market. At any rate, the draft state plan for the country's economic and social development in the next, 4th year of the 5-year plan period envisages that enterprises in most sectors will not be assigned any targets by the state at all, apart from firm orders for the delivery of consumer goods and the provision of services to the population.

Moreover, it is emphasized that, in terms of various product list groups, it is expedient to issue state orders covering enterprises' total capacity. These groups include not only light industry's output for children, young people, and the elderly, but also foodstuffs.

If this is so, it is possible to hope for an end to the process of the "erosion" of cheap articles in mass demand and a number of other products and their replacement by more

expensive ones. For the time being, the rise in prices and charges covers practically everything we need on a daily basis, even though only the prices for bread and alcoholic beverages have been officially increased since 1984.

The imbalance and the unsatisfied demand for much of what people need exert strong pressure on the level of retail prices and the range of goods. Not only has the producer's diktat over consumers not weakened, it has actually become stronger since additional economic levers have been placed in the producers' hands.

One can get an idea of how powerful these levers are by considering the fact that over 90 percent of the commodity turnover growth in the country in the 1st 2 years of the current 5-year plan period resulted from increased retail prices. Of course this has an effect on the structure of manufactured output, an effect that does not work to the consumer's advantage. For some reason even imported goods are becoming more expensive.

Price increases can be felt especially when it comes to light industry's output. Unfortunately, each and every one of us can cite more than enough examples of this. People often walk away from store windows and stalls in horror.

What do you expect? By way of an example, the average retail price for a woman's winter overcoat in the country was about R120 in 1970, and 10 years later it had increased by more than R60. A further 6-7 years later, it has jumped to almost R260. Dynamics like this make you shudder.

It is well known, however, that average figures are not always typical. "Salyut" and "Vympel," Moscow's largest sewn goods associations, have switched to production of these same overcoats at contract prices. Consequently, the retail price of these products stands at R450-600. And there is a tendency toward not resting satisfied with what has been achieved.

There are two high parties to the contract, or rather to the conspiracy—industry and the trade network. But what about those for whose sakes both these spheres operate—the purchasers, people like you and I? Who takes their needs, demands, and wishes into consideration, and in what fashion?

But factories, combines, and associations have so many opportunities to raise retail prices. For example, enterprises themselves have been given the right to set retail prices with a markup of up to 30 percent for articles with the "N" index. By agreement with the trade network, this growth is reliably guaranteed by the notorious contract price. Therefore, watch out, consumer—there is virtually no limit to the size of markups or the volume of expensive output to be manufactured. We also have so-called "high fashion" goods and trial shipments of new products [ustanovochnyye partii novinok]. All this has to be paid for by the purchasers.

Given such freedom of action, is anyone likely to voluntarily undertake to rack his brains about ways to assimilate the production of cheap but attractive footwear and clothes for kids? Is anyone likely to be driven by pure altruism (so far there are no other incentives) to start worrying about people on low incomes or on pensions?

Some economic leaders perceive the pursuit of cash as their contribution toward economic reform. And this is where we feel the full impact of parochial and departmental attitudes. In trying to skim off the market, which is suffering from shortages, allegedly for the sake of the labor collectives' social interests, they are producing yet another round of price rises. A worker at a knitwear factory, standing by a store shelf, is unpleasantly struck by the price of children's shoes. While a foreman at a footwear production line, looking at a sweater for his son or daughter, simply cannot understand why it carries such a high price tag.

The same happens with services. A bemused customer can often be seen at a barbershop, a workshop, a travel office, or a sports and health center. After all, the quality of service (just like that of goods, by the way) has often not changed for the better. But the price!...

We recently heard pleasant news: The first Soviet golf club had opened in Moscow. With an admission charge, of course. It was not cheap to set it up. And yet schools still lack enough swimming pools, neighborhoods still lack even primitive playgrounds. Where are children to go after school—even movie theater tickets don't come cheap any more.

The increase in prices for goods and services is by no means a consequence of the economic reform, even though this is the conclusion drawn by many people on reading the arguments of certain scientists and experts in newspapers and journals or on studying reports of large and small "roundtable" discussions. Price increases are primarily a legacy of the cost-based mechanism of economic management, a direct consequence of indifference and sluggishness on the part of central and local economic departments.

Attempts to conceal group egoism beneath the umbrella of economic reform were given a principled appraisal in M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech. It was emphasized that the party Central Committee and the government perceive this approach toward the shaping of the domestic market as impermissible in socialist society. Certain corrections ought to be introduced both by enterprises themselves and by central organs, and the appropriate economic measures ought to be elaborated and implemented.

This package will obviously contain proposals to subsidize the manufacture of goods for children and the elderly, to institute wholesale price markups without changing retail prices, and some other options that

would render the production of these goods economically advantageous in the new conditions. This approach must become part of our economy's social reorientation.

It is equally important to involve people themselves, the consumers, in the management of the market and the price formation process. It is after all no secret that many goods and services have certainly not become better just because they cost much more than before. Would it not be fair to reduce the retail price of an article if a way has been found to make it from a different and cheaper material? But producers are in no hurry to exercise this right of theirs. Quite often they need to be prompted.

Who is to prompt them? Consumer associations. Such public organizations are active and respected in many countries, protecting the interests of those who buy goods and products and use services. The quality of our life is directly dependent on the price level. As a matter of fact, while implementing a radical economic reform, why should we not publish consumer price indexes on a regular basis, as it is done abroad?

The democratization of our life and the building of a rule-of-law state persistently demand direct participation by the masses in the shaping of a domestic market that would be in line with the party's social course, the course of restructuring.

Control Committee Scores Construction Ministry

PM2709152388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Sep 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. On Violations of Delivery Discipline for Equipment for the Development of the Material and Technical Base of the Construction of Housing and Other Social Projects Committed by Communist Leaders at Certain USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building Enterprises"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has carried out checks into the fulfillment of contractual commitments by the leaders of a number of USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building enterprises with regard to the delivery of technological equipment for enterprises scheduled for completion, enterprises undergoing modernization, and existing enterprises in the construction materials and construction industries.

The committee's decision on this matter notes that a large number of the sector's enterprises are violating state delivery discipline and failing to satisfy the construction materials industry's growing demand for many types of technological equipment in order to boost production of cement, wall and roofing materials, reinforced concrete, and sanitary engineering items, as a result of which construction and commissioning schedules for construction industry enterprises are being undermined and the boosting of the volume of the construction of housing and other sociocultural projects is being held in check.

Of the 23 plants producing equipment for the construction materials and construction industries 14 failed to cope with the fulfillment of contractual commitments and were responsible for delivery shortfalls worth around R9 million in 1986, while last year contract fulfillment was undermined by 13 enterprises which failed to deliver equipment worth R23 million. Violations of state delivery discipline are continuing in the current year as well.

Associations and enterprises in the subsector are working unsatisfactorily to renew and improve the technical standard and quality of the machines they manufacture. Last year machinery renewal accounted for just 4.7 percent of their work. A considerable amount of equipment whose technical standard does not correspond to the best promising equivalents is still being produced. Thus, only one-third of the brick-manufacturing equipment produced and one-fourth of equipment for the cement industry corresponds to world technical standards.

Particularly serious violations of state equipment delivery discipline were committed by the leaders of Kemerovo's "Strommashina" Plant, which has failed to deliver equipment worth around R6 million over the last 2 and ½ years; the "Volgotsemmash" Production Association, which only fulfilled its commitments for 1987 by 98 percent and failed to deliver output worth R3,225,000; and the "Stromoborudovaniye" Production Association in Krasnogorsk, which only fulfilled last year's delivery plan by 95.4 percent, failing to deliver goods worth around R7 million.

The leaders of the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building and its administrations have tolerated continuing delivery shortfalls of machines and equipment and have failed to give the necessary assistance to plants in resolving the questions of developing their capacities in order to boost output of new equipment, to retool and introduce advanced technology so as to reach modern technical standards, and to improve the quality of the machines they produce. A number of enterprises fail to fully observe technological and production discipline, permit violations of standards and technical conditions, and suffer from low production standards and high quality-control losses.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee noted the low level of executive discipline at USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building enterprises and associations with regard to the fulfillment of deliveries of technological equipment for construction industry enterprises. Note was taken of the statement by Minister Comrade Ye.A. Varnachev, member of the CPSU, that the ministry will

implement additional measures to strengthen state discipline and unconditionally fulfill contractual deliveries of equipment to enterprises in the construction materials and construction industries. The ministry will give the necessary assistance to associations and plants in ensuring output of machines equal to modern technical standards and quality, and in introducing economic accountability and collective and lease contracts.

CPSU member Comrade S.A. Gromov, USSR deputy minister of construction, road, and municipal machine building, was strictly reprimanded for failing to ensure proper control of the observance of state delivery discipline by subordinate enterprises, and for failing to take timely measures to provide practical assistance to them in improving their work.

CPSU members Comrade V.A. Kopin, general director of the "Volgotsemmash" Production Association, and Comrade V.S. Trifonov, general director of the "Stromoborudovaniye" Production Association in Krasnogorsk, were reprimanded for failing to fulfill contractual commitments with regard to equipment deliveries for the production of construction materials and for the construction industry, and for serious shortcomings in their leadership of their plants. CPSU member Comrade S.N. Padin, director of the "Strommashina" Plant in Kemerovo, was given a stern warning.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee drew the attention of Comrade V.M. Ivanov, secretary of the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building party committee, to the need to improve the responsibility of the ministry's leading workers for the unswerving fulfillment of party and government decisions, the strengthening of executive discipline, and the improvement of the state of affairs at subordinate enterprises.

Agricultural

Nikonov Attends Rovno Corn Selection Seminar

PM2709133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Important Reserve of Feed Production"]

[Text] Rovno, 24 Sep—As a high-yielding, universal feed crop, corn now occupies vast areas of the country. However, its potential has still been revealed far from fully on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The work done in recent years to increase production of corn grain and feed was subjected to an exacting analysis in the course of an all-union seminar based on the joint Soviet-Austrian enterprise of Rovno Oblast's "Zarya" Agrofirm and the "Pioneer" Company. Its results were summed up today. After generalizing positive experience and defining bottlenecks, scientists, agricultural specialists, specialists of the country's Ministry of Grain Products, and workers of union and autonomous republic gosagroproms and of kray and oblast agro-industrial committees formulated specific measures to increase production of corn grain in the very near future and sharply improve the quality of corn silage.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the seminar.

A "field day" was held in the "Zarya" Agrofirm's plantations, during which the potential of early-ripening hybrids produced from Soviet and foreign selection was demonstrated, equipment for cultivating and harvesting corn was shown, and techniques for growing it were examined in detail.

Extensive scientific and production tests of the "Pioneer" firm's corn have now been continuing here for several years, as well as on other Ukrainian, RSFSR, and Moldavian farms. The yield of its hybrids has proved higher than those regionalized in these zones. The specialists estimated at their true value the well developed techniques for obtaining parental lines of seeds and producing good-quality seed material. Other advantages of the "Pioneer" hybrids, many of which have a short vegetation period and are capable of maturing for grain in northern regions of the Ukraine and in Belorussia, the non-Chernozem Zone, and Siberia, are the seeds' high field germination rate, the uniformity of sowings, and good suitability for mechanized harvesting.

An accord has now been reached between the "Pioneer" Company and the "Zarya" Agrofirm, and founding documents have been signed on setting up a joint enterprise for the production of 10,000 tonnes of hybrid seeds a year.

It was pointed out at the seminar that today it is necessary to commission all reserves for improving the supply of nutritious corn feed to farms. The standard of selection and seed growing for this crop—primarily of the early-ripening group—must be improved without delay. The range of hybrids is too small at present.

The question of strengthening the material and technical base for treating corn seeds in the system of both the Gosagroprom and the USSR Ministry of Grain Products was also raised acutely.

The shortage of early-ripening hybrids and productive harvesting equipment is largely the reason why the quality of the corn silage being prepared remains low in the country as a whole. Because of premature harvesting the shortfall and losses of nutriments in corn silage during storage reach 17-18 million tonnes of feed units every year. Estimates show that this feed could be used to produce an additional 11-12 million tonnes of milk or 1.4-1.5 million tonnes of beef in live weight.

The important role that scientific-production systems must play in resolving the problems of corn growing was emphasized. Precisely 27 of them are already operating in various parts of the country.

A weighty word must also be said by machine builders, from whom farmers await improved reliability of series-produced equipment, the speediest startup of production of machines for intensive techniques, and the saturation of farms with highly productive feed-harvesting combines.

Attention was drawn to the further development of cooperation between both production workers and scientific establishments and leading foreign firms over a wide range of urgent agricultural problems.

Participating in the seminar were V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; secretaries of Communist Party central committees; leaders of gosagroproms of union republics; and party obkom first secretaries.

During his stay in Rovno Oblast, V.P. Nikonov inquired about the work of the agro-industrial complex under conditions of restructuring. At the "Zarya" Agrofirm he inspected production sowings of grain corn, rape, sugar beets, and potatoes, visited the canning and glass container plants and the hothouse combine, and familiarized himself with the work of the dairy complex and with sociocultural and consumer projects.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by I.A. Mozgovoy, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; T.I. Panasenko, first secretary of Rovno party obkom; and P.K. Prishchepa, chairman of the oblispolkom.

'Model Kolkhoz Charter' Adopted by Council

WA18240116 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Aug 88 p 2

[Interview with Ivan Ivanovich Kukhar, chairman of the Union Kolkhoz Council and twice Hero of Socialist Labor, by TASS correspondent A. Urvantsev; date and place not given]

[Text] As has already been reported, the new Model Kolkhoz Charter was adopted at the regular meeting of the Union Kolkhoz Council. Quite a few proposals and observations were incorporated in its final version. What are the most fundamental provisions and revisions that have been made in the new kolkhoz charter since the congress of kolkhoz members? This was the question asked by TASS correspondent A. Urvantsev to I.I. Kukhar, chairman of the Union Kolkhoz Council and twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

[Kukhar] The period since the congress of kolkhoz members has been filled with important political events—the 19th all-union party conference was held, there was the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Law on Cooperation in the USSR took effect. The party's present agricultural policy has undergone further development. Clearly, its provisions have been reflected in the Model Kolkhoz Charter prepared by the commission of the Union Kolkhoz Council. A large portion of the suggestions and observations that the commission received from the field were aimed, above all, at strengthening farms, at granting them greater independence in dealing with production and social problems, in selecting the form of organization of work and the form of work incentives, and in their use of resources.

For example, the range of matters handled by the general assembly of kolkhoz members has been broadened. In addition to those indicated in the original draft, now the supreme governing body of the kolkhoz determines the structure of production, establishes the procedure for distributing income as well as the staff of managerial personnel, decides questions concerning the size of the homestead farming operation and allowances as to the livestock kept by kolkhoz members, takes up labor disputes, and also deals with contract disputes between kolkhoz members and the kolkhoz board in connection with the drafting and application of the contract and the lease.

A new form has also been set forth to the effect that when members of the kolkhoz are enrolled, the general assembly may give the enrollee a trial period lasting as much as 3 months. Pursuant to the Law on Cooperation it has been pointed out that individuals working in the kolkhoz under an employment contract may take part in the general assembly of kolkhoz members with the right to an advisory vote. Thus, the role and importance of the general assembly of kolkhoz members are being enhanced still more.

[Urvantsev] As is well known, the need for the comprehensive development of leasing in rural areas was pointed out at the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Has this been reflected in the charter?

[Kukhar] Leasing of land and other means of production on a long-term basis makes it possible to make the peasant an effective farmer on his land and to achieve higher results. There is evidence of this in the experience of many kolkhozes where a good and well thought-out leasing procedure has been established. That is why the new charter sets forth important provisions on the lease, the collective contract, and the family contract.

To go further, the charter provides that work collectives of the kolkhoz may not only lease land and basic means of production, but they may also independently sell products and use the leftover income at their disposition. All of this has been set forth in a new article, the text of

which is as follows: "At the desire of kolkhoz members and within the terms and conditions of the collective contract and family contract, as the principal form of production-and-economic relations within the farm, and also a lease to parcels of land and capital assets, the kolkhoz may independently set up cost-accounting [khozraschetnyye] collectives whose income is formed depending on the end results of their economic activity." In short, a farm may on contractual principles define the duties and extend to such collectives the rights of independent sale of the products they produce and use of the income obtained, including use to remunerate labor, to pay taxes and deductions to the state social insurance fund or to the kolkhoz's fund for socioeconomic development, and they may also open a checking account in bank institutions or in the new financial-accounting centers of agro-industrial associations.

[Urvantsev] Kolkhozes are now binding their activity more closely to other partners in the agro-industrial complex. They are entering into agrofirms and agrocombines. What norms have been set forth in the charter that make provision for that kind of integration?

[Kukhar] Their essence is that the kolkhoz itself decides the question of entering into these structures, taking into account its economic advantage and the possibility of mastering what is new and progressive. Here, the economic independence of the kolkhoz is not lost. Provision has also been made for the right of the kolkhoz to withdraw from an association if it does not have the economic interest to remain or if its rights have been infringed upon.

Most of the supplements and revisions are made up of norms defining the economic independence and inviolability of kolkhoz property. The new Law on Cooperation in the USSR has been taken into account here. Revisions are made concerning the property rights of the kolkhoz when it takes part in interfarm enterprises and associations. The kolkhoz' exclusive right to dispose of its own property and money resources has been set forth clearly. The charter states that from now on the kolkhoz' property may not be confiscated or transferred to state, cooperative, or other enterprises and organizations, or individuals without consent of the general assembly of kolkhoz members. Moreover, this had to be discussed and achieved, since up to now there has been no shortage of people who like to dispose of kolkhoz property and resources. This is done, for example, on the pretext of creating reserves of Gosagroprom and resources to finance its staff. For instance, in RSFSR Gosagroprom, with consent of the Russian Kolkhoz Council, established deductions into reserve funds representing as much as 20 percent of the deductions of net income, and they did not ask the consent of kolkhoz members for this....

Although the charter states that the kolkhoz independently defines the types, size, and procedure for formation and use of funds and reserves, state and cooperative authorities do not set the rate at which the kolkhoz is to form funds.

And another fact of considerable importance. A significant revision has been made: it makes up a shortage of its own working capital above all out of gross income. This means that from now on the bank will not be extending credit for mismanagement and the swallowing up of resources belonging to others. But if the kolkhoz is to carry on its activity normally, it has to operate efficiently and have its own resources both to remunerate labor and for its own development.

There has also been a revision in the matter of the kolkhoz' relations with the bank, the money in the kolkhoz cash drawer, for which farm managers have been reproached quite frequently in the past. This is what the charter says: "The kolkhoz independently determines the maximum amount of cash for current expenditures permanently kept in its cash drawer and independently chooses the bank to handle its credit and money operations." The kolkhoz has been given the right to attract, if necessary, money and property contributions from members of the kolkhoz, from enterprises and organizations, and from individuals and by decision of the general assembly to distribute a portion of the income or output in proportion to the size of those contributions.

What is more, the kolkhoz can place in a special account called the share fund of kolkhoz members the portion of the annual value of the growth of fixed productive capital realized by virtue of its own resources. The resources of this fund are to be distributed among the members of the kolkhoz and credited to personal accounts in proportion to the specific work contribution of the respective members. Interest is computed annually on these resources, to be paid out of gross income; the interest rate is to be determined by the general assembly of kolkhoz members. The procedure for formation and use of the share fund are also determined by the general assembly of kolkhoz members.

There is no question that this is a new form of relations within the kolkhoz, it is in conformity with the Law on Cooperation, and it is aimed at increasing the motivation of kolkhoz members to utilize productive assets.

[Urvantsev] Ivan Ivanovich, were proposals or supplements to the charter made during the actual session of the Union Kolkhoz Council?

[Kukhar] Yes, there were such suggestions. For instance, there was particularly stormy debate of the question of the right of farms to purchase surplus produce from individuals and then to sell it. This issue was discussed back in the early eighties. But, unfortunately, it did not receive support at that time. Both then and now, as is well known, consumer cooperatives were not coping with their procurement functions. Now the new charter contains a supplement to the effect that from now on kolkhozes are allowed to buy surplus produce from individuals for subsequent processing and sale. For

example, a kolkhoz can buy apples from individuals, say, for 1 ruble per kilogram, place them in its cold storage, and then in the wintertime sell them, say, at 2 rubles per kilogram.

[Urvantsev] What does the new charter provide concerning the drafting of plans for economic and social development?

[Kukhar] In view of the cooperative nature of the kolkhoz, the charter sets forth its right to independently draft and approve 5-year plans of economic and social development. It clearly points out that the kolkhoz defines the expedient production structure in plans for its economic operation at its own discretion and may engage in any type of activity, including the processing of products, production of consumer goods and industrial articles, trade, and the rendering of various services.

A new point has been included in the charter to the effect that the economic and production relations of the kolkhoz with state, cooperative, and other enterprises and organizations, and also with individuals shall now be exclusively on contractual principles. The contract is the only legal document regulating all production and economic relations of the kolkhoz with partners in the agro-industrial complex and other departments.

"The new Model Kolkhoz Charter," I.I. Kukhar said in conclusion, "is expected to serve the further development of kolkhoz democracy and to establish Leninist principles of the cooperative movement."

Military

Army Paper's Line on Sensitive Topics Scored

PM2709154088 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 2

["Necessary Postscript" by R. Guseynov, editor of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Department of Propaganda and Military-Patriotic Education, to selection of readers letters in response to 23-28 February 1988 reports from Afghanistan by Ye. Losoto; letters and postscript are published under the rubric "The Eighties: Readers' Diary" and the heading "Mothers and Wives Write In"]

[Text] The selection of letters received in response to the items in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was already planned when the editorial office received the latest issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Journalist N. Belan categorically denies special correspondent Ye. Losoto's story about the last moments of Major Kovalev's life. A curious detail: Whereas Ye. Losoto described the major's feat in a report from Afghanistan, N. Belan writes about the same subject in an article from... Stavropol. It cannot be denied that this question is not a simple one. The best answer was that of V. Kovalev's mother, Anna Vladimirovna. In a letter addressed to the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office, she expresses thanks for the truth, however bitter.

One more thing must be said. Recently the central organ of the Defense Ministry has been admirably persistent in "correcting" publications that touch in one way or another on the Soviet Army's problems. This year alone, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has had this "honor" three times. For many years the problems of "bullying" or "nonregulation relations," as military journalists continue to put it so elegantly, were not reflected in the press. Now virtually all the publications write about these matters, with the exception of... KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The main military newspaper's rare mentions of these subjects are reminiscent of the line from the well-known song: "If someone is doing it somewhere, it will sometime happen here...."

I do not want to continue this dispute. We suggest to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that we pool our efforts to resolve other, more important issues than that of defending the honor of the regiment. The late Major Kovalev's aunt, the elderly woman M.V. Silchenko, wrote to us that his parents are "living in terrible conditions." The letter published above from airman Kovalev's widow, Svetlana, rails against cruelty and calls for charity. Are not these the questions that demand urgent resolution? By tackling them we will be defending the honor, not of the regiment, but of the Soviet Army.